

**WRESTLING WITH THE CENTRAL STATE:
COMPARATIVE ETHNIC REGIONAL AUTONOMY IN
CHINA AND RUSSIA**

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland

June, 2018

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Abstract

This dissertation compares ethnically-based identity politics in two constitutionally-defined multi-ethnic states, China and Russia, by focusing upon one type of prescriptive institution, territorially-based formal autonomy designated at the sub-national levels for ethnic minorities. Intriguingly, some of these ethno-regions have been more capable of actually exercising the formally promulgated autonomy than others. What can explain the variations across different ethno-regions in terms of implemented autonomy outcome?

This dissertation develops an analytical framework that consists of a response variable, an ethno-region's implemented autonomy outcome, an explanatory variable, an ethno-region's inter-ethnic boundary-makings, an intervening variable, titular elites' bargaining capacity, and two condition variables, formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations. An ethno-region's implemented autonomy outcome is assessed in terms of compliance with the corresponding autonomy-establishing legal document(s) on three dimensions, political participation, economic development, and cultural promotion among the ethno-region's titular ethnic population.

Based upon fieldworks that combined elite interviews, participant observations, and oral history, a controlled comparison is conducted of two ethno-regions with strikingly contrasted autonomy outcomes for the first six years of the 2010s, the more autonomous Republic of Tatarstan in Russia and the less autonomous Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China, by tracing the process of how three dimensions of inter-ethnic boundary-making processes, acculturation, social integration, and psychological identification, mold three dimensions of titular elites' capacity, elite-level inter-ethnic relations, central state's perception of the titular population, and intra-ethnic cleavage

structure, which jointly shape a fourth dimension, titular elites' representation in the ethno-regional state's most powerful positions. Four additional ethno-regions, Tibet and Inner Mongolia of China, Bashkortostan and Yakutia of Russia, are used as shadow cases.

It is argued that greater inter-ethnic integration, when combined with robust consciousness of inter-ethnic distinction, is conducive to building the capacity both for elites of the titular ethnic category to bargain with the central state and for intra-ethnic cohesion, which in turn can lead to greater autonomy outcome for the ethno-region. In such processes, the key to socio-economic development in ethnically heterogeneous societies is to strike the balance between the mutually competing but not necessarily irreconcilable tendencies towards inter-ethnic differentiation and inter-ethnic integration.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my advisors for guiding me through the process of producing this dissertation. Kellee S. Tsai and Erin A. Chung encouragingly initiated me onto the stage of research design, generously helped me create a timeline for fieldwork and write-up, and consistently provided helpful, cogent feedback on different versions of each chapter. Sebastián Mazzuca's insights were very inspirational for the framing of the dissertation's argument.

I would also like to thank Tobie Meyer-Fong for chairing my dissertation committee and Joel Andreas for meticulously reading through the final draft. Both of them provided helpful, cogent feedback.

I would also like to thank: JHU Department of Political Science, JHU East Asian Studies Program, the donor and stewardship of Beulah Benton Tatum Endowment Fellowship, the donor and stewardship of Nicole Suveges Fieldwork Fellowship, (the followings in alphabetical order) Bulat Akhmetkarimov, Leyla Almazova, Christopher P. Atwood, Bergänbek Bolatkhan, Laura Bosco, Samuel Chambers, Lindsay Cook, Jennifer Culbert, James Flowers, Gulnara Gainetdinova, Burak Gürel, Ali İğmen, Damir İskhakov, Röstəm İslamnurov, Liliya Karimova, Richard Katz, Amanda Kerrigan, Rafael Khəkim, Khöbchin, Jacob Lewis, Ruinan Li, Yao Li, Zhenhua Lü, Renée Marlin-Bennett, Joshua Noonan, Mary Otterbein, Svetlana Peshkova, Odongerel Pount, Allison Quatrini, Rena, Guldana Salimjan, Uli Schamiloğlu, John Schoeberlein, Adam Sheingate, Annelle Sheline, Yue Shi, Svetlana Sibrina, S. Frederick Starr, E. Nicole Thornton, Karyn Jiamin

Wang, Tan Wang, Ündes Wang, Lisa Williams, Nomin Wu, Xing Yuan, Alfiya
Yusupova, Oleg Zaznaev, Chunman Zhang, Zhe Zhang, and Borjan Zic.

Ultimately, this dissertation is dedicated to the memory and the honor of my
beloved mother, who passed away in June, 2016. I completed the dissertation in loving
memory of her. I would also like to thank my father, whose moral support accompanied
the entire dissertation write-up.

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Abbreviations

AOb Autonomous Oblast'

AOk Autonomous Okrug

ASSR Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

BASSR Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CCPC Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party

CMC Central Muslim Commissariat

CPRC Constitution of the People's Republic of China

CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union

CRF Constitution of the Russian Federation

CRT Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan

GDP Gross domestic product

GZAR Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region

IKAP Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture

LERALaw of Ethnic Regional Autonomy

NHAR Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region

NMAR Nei Mongol Autonomous Region (Inner Mongolia)

NPC National People's Congress (PRC)

PAP People's Armed Police

PLA People's Liberation Army

PRC People's Republic of China

RB Republic of Bashkortostan (Bashkortostan)

RF Russian Federation

RS Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)

RSFSR Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

RT Republic of Tatarstan (Tatarstan)

SEAC State Ethnic Affairs Commission

SOE State-owned enterprise

SSR Soviet Socialist Republic

TAIF Tatar-American Investments and Finances

TASSR Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

Treaty RFRT Treaty on Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Powers between
Bodies of Public Authority of the Russian Federation and Bodies of Public Authority of
the Republic of Tatarstan

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UR United Russia (political party)

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

XAR Xizang Autonomous Region (Tibet)

XPCC Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps

XUAR Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Xinjiang)

1. INTRODUCTION

THE PUZZLE

Tugal Tel

İ tуган тел, i matur tel, әткәм-әнкәмнәнг теле! Дөньяда күп нәрсә белдем син туган тел аркılı.

İng elek bu tel belән әнкәм бешектә көйләгән. Annarı tönnär buyı әbkәм xikәyәt söylәgән.

İ tуган тел, һәрвакытта ярдәмәнг берлән синәнг. Kechkenәдән anglashılған shatlıgım-kaygım minem.

İ tugal tel, sindә bulған ing elek kılған dogam. Yarlıkgıl, dip, üzem һәм әткәм-әнкәмне, xodam.

Gabdulla Tukay, 1909

Mother Tongue

O mother tongue, o beautiful tongue, the tongue of my parents; through you, mother tongue, I discovered a lot in this world.

In the earliest days, my mother was singing me lullabies, in this tongue; then during the nights, my grandmother was telling me stories, in this tongue.

O mother tongue, always together with your help, have my joys and sorrows been expressed since childhood.

O mother tongue, in you came my first prayer, “please absolve my parents and myself of our sins, my Lord.”

Gabdulla Tukay, 1909¹

¹ Translated into English by the author.

In this poem, the author emotionally personifies his mother tongue. Written in literary Tatar of the early 20th century by a high revered poet of Tatar/Bashkir heritage, Gabdulla Tukay (1886-1913), the poem was recited during the opening ceremony² of the 2013 Summer Universiade held in Kazan, the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan (hereafter RT), an ethnically-defined territory of Russia. It was on this occasion that the peculiar identity of Tatarstan and the Tatar language, the second largest language of Russia and one of the two official languages of Tatarstan, was vividly showcased to an international audience. Two years later, during the opening ceremony³ of the 2015 FINA World Aquatics Championships held in Kazan, a Tatar folk song, *Tugan Yak (Birthplace)*, again was sung in Tatar.

Six years earlier, in the early July of 2009, troops were dispatched from all over China to Ürümqi, the capital of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (hereafter XUAR), an ethnically-defined territory of China, to crack down upon days of inter-ethnic violent clashes most of whose “targets” were either ethnic Uyghurs or ethnic Han. Internet access was largely cut off for non-governmental users throughout XUAR for almost a year. Ever since, heavy police presence has become a routinized scene in the streets of not only Ürümqi but also other urban centers of Xinjiang. Many local residents, irrespective of their ethnicity, tend to believe that the Uyghur-Han relationship in Ürümqi has in general grown tenser and tenser since the 1990s. Stereotypical association of Xinjiang with being “restive” has become conventional in China.

² See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wYATqdHSVZ4> (accessed February 28, 2017).

³ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hHcogrtQJo8> (accessed February 28, 2017).

Both China and Russia are constitutionally defined as multi-ethnic⁴, where a series of ethnic territorially-based autonomous entities have been formally designated for various ethnic minorities (hereafter referred to as “ethno-regions”). Intriguingly, some of these ethno-regions have been more effectively promoting inter-ethnic cooperation, local economic development, and the cultural interests of the titular ethnic populations⁵ and achieving higher actual degree of autonomy vis-à-vis the central state than others. The empirical records of XUAR in China and RT in Russia may conspicuously illustrate the varying degree of actually exercised autonomy.

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a number of ethnic populations indigenous to Central Eurasia have reached their eponymous independent statehood. Nevertheless, two among the most populous of such populations, Tatars⁶ and Uyghurs⁷, remain ethnic minorities in Russia and China respectively. Ethnic Tatars constitute the largest ethnic minority in Russia (5,310,649 as of 2010) and are the titular ethnic population of the RT. Uyghur, the most commonly used language among ethnic Uyghurs (10,069,346 as of 2010), the titular population of the XUAR, is arguably the largest non-Sinitic language in China. Throughout the 1990s, both populations saw an increase of ethnically-based

⁴ The NPC of PRC, *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* [in Chinese], http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/node_505.htm (accessed February 28, 2017); President of Russia, *Constitution of the Russian Federation* [in Russian], <http://constitution.kremlin.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017).

⁵ “Titular ethnic population” here simply refers to citizens of the ethno-region’s titular ethnic category according to official categorizations. In China and Russia, ethnically-based categorizations are not coterminous with territorially-based categorizations. Citizens of an ethno-region’s titular ethnic category are not necessarily native to or originally from that ethno-region. However, such citizens are still counted as “titular” as long as their ethnic category is the titular one.

⁶ Ethnic Tatars officially categorized as such in Russia who trace their ancestry from what are today’s Federal Districts of Volga and Ural of Russia (or Idel-Ural) and identify Tatarstan as their titular ethno-region.

⁷ Ethnic Uyghurs officially categorized as such in China who identify Xinjiang as their titular ethno-region.

mobilizations with demands ranging from greater regional autonomy to self-determination. However, by the beginning of the 2010s, Tatar ethno-national movement has largely faded away, while the profile of Uyghur dissent and resistance has attracted unprecedented attention both inside and outside China.

Flourishing autonomy-building initiatives have enabled Tatarstan to attain the most privileged status of all the constituent entities⁸ of Russia: ethnic Tatar elites were able to flexibly and ambiguously couch their demands in terms of “sovereignty” (Slocum 1999), to pursue developmental strategies that differ from Moscow’s, to promote the once-declining Tatar language, and to actively build trade and diplomatic relations with other regions of the Russian Federation and with international parties. In terms of official historiography, the state-sponsored Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences⁹ has been actively promoting a post-Soviet discourse that debunks the narratives of “Tatar yoke”¹⁰ while arguing that the foundation of the multi-ethnic Russian statehood was rather laid under the Golden Horde whose cultural and linguistic heritages underpin the shared identity of ethnic Tatars.

By contrast, among ethnic Uyghurs, resentment towards what is perceived as the central state’s overwhelming control brews to varying extent. The Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (hereafter XPCC)¹¹ dominates the use of land and natural resources, while issues like urban unemployment and rural poverty¹² beleaguer ethnic Uyghurs.

⁸ Russian: *sub'yekty Rossiskoi Federatsii*.

⁹ Russian: *Institut Istorii imeni Shigabutdin Mardzhani Akademii Nauk Respubliki Tatarstan*.

¹⁰ Russian: *Tataro-mongol'skoe igo*.

¹¹ Chinese: *Xinjiang Shengchan Jianshe Bingtuan*.

¹² Ethnic Uyghurs tend to be most disadvantaged in terms of “earnings in urban labor markets,” according to Xiaogang Wu and Huguang Ye’s statistical analysis of the samples from the 2005 PRC mini-census (2016, 953).

With regard to knowledge-production, contested issues include, but are not confined to, the massive curtailing of Uyghur as language of instruction with the introduction of “bilingual education” aimed at strengthening ethnic Uyghur schoolchildren’s Mandarin Chinese skills, restricted public space for religious practices, and a strict control upon the official historiography in which the historical trajectory of how the shared identity of being “Uyghur” emerged is largely understated.

In Russia, a classic counter-example of Tatarstan’s conspicuous autonomy-building can be Chechnya, where two episodes of bloody wars spanning the 1990s and the 2000s between the central-state’s armed forces and ethno-regional militants (Stoner-Weiss 2004, 304-307) ended in the installation of highly autocratic and coercive rule by a central-state-backed clan. In China, a counter-example of Xinjiang’s stereotypical image of being “restive” can be Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, where expression of Muslim identities has been relatively blossoming, and the China-Arab States Expo has been held annually since 2013. Meanwhile, throughout the first six years of the 2010s, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (hereafter NMAR) has consistently been the only autonomous region ranking among the top ten province-level units of China by GDP per capita¹³. In this sense, Inner Mongolia has become the economically most developed ethno-region of China.

Beyond China and Russia, examples of fruitful autonomy-buildings also abound. In Canada, Québec has attained an asymmetrically high level of political, economic, and cultural autonomy, and the disparities in terms of political and economic power between

¹³ Sheng, Laiyun, ed., *2016 China Statistical Yearbook* [in Chinese].

French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians have been considerably reduced since the 1960s (Simeon 2004, 98). In Spain, the Basque Country under the leadership of the Basque Nationalist Party has achieved a level of political and fiscal autonomy higher than most of the other regions (Beramendi and Máiz 2004, 134-136). In Great Britain, Scotland's building of political and fiscal autonomy since the late 1990s culminated in the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence.

How can we make sense of the starkly contrasted autonomy outcomes of Tatarstan and Xinjiang despite similar trends of ethnic mobilization about two decades earlier? This puzzle ushers in a broader research question for the dissertation: Why have certain subnational-level regions designated for ethnic minorities to practice territorially-based autonomy been able to exercise more autonomy vis-à-vis the central state than have others of the kind? What may explain the variation across different ethno-regions in terms of the extent to which they actually exercise the formally promulgated autonomy? Simply put, **why have some ethno-regions in China and Russia been more autonomous than others?**

I define my response variable, an ethno-region's degree of actually exercised autonomy, in terms of how much of what is stipulated in the legally binding documents establishing the formal autonomy for the ethno-region has been empirically implemented in compliance. Such legally binding documents embody the formal institutions¹⁴ that officially promulgate territorially-based autonomy for a territorially-concentrated ethnic

¹⁴ I subscribe to Kellee S. Tsai's definition of formal institutions as "rules, regulations, policies, and procedures that are promulgated and meant to be enforced by entities and agents generally recognized as being official" (2007, 38).

minority¹⁵ on matters crucial (Treisman 2007, 238) to the ontological security¹⁶ (Kinnvall 2004) of their ethnic identity and are meant to be implemented. These formal institutions constitute the baseline (Tsai 2007, 38) according to which I score¹⁷ ethno-regions' degree of compliance. In this sense, an ethno-region's autonomy outcome, as I construe, is not conceptually synonymous with either policies, or institutions, or events, but corresponds instead to the outcome of a capacity to implement.

Aside from the respective constitutions of China and Russia, for ethno-regions in China, one of the most relevant legal documents is the *Law of Ethnic Regional Autonomy of the People's Republic of China*¹⁸, while specific to ethno-regions in Russia, other legally binding covenants include constitutions of various ethnic republics and treaties¹⁹ signed between the federal government and ethno-regional states. Using what is stipulated in respective documents as benchmark, I assess an ethno-region's degree of actually implemented autonomy in terms of compliance with the corresponding legal documents for a specific time frame in which such legal documents possess legal force. Compliance is evaluated on three dimensions, political participation, economic development, and cultural promotion among the ethno-region's titular ethnic group²⁰.

¹⁵ I determine who are members of such ethnic minorities in accordance with both self-identifications at the individual and group levels and official categorization at the state level.

¹⁶ "Ontological security" is defined as a security of being, a sense of confidence and trust that the world is what it appears to be (Kinnvall 2004, 762). This concept pertains to the stability of individuals' shared worldviews and self-understandings.

¹⁷ In terms of its design, similar to how Freedom House scores and rates countries' degree of "freedom."

¹⁸ Passed in 1984 and most recently revised in 2001.

¹⁹ For example, the *Treaty on Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Powers between Bodies of Public Authority of the Russian Federation and Bodies of Public Authority of the Republic of Tatarstan* signed into force on June 26, 2007, and valid for ten years.

²⁰ Not implying an internally homogenous and externally bounded group, or "groupness" (Brubaker 2004).

The way I conceptualize an ethno-region's implemented autonomy outcome is based upon the consideration that the formal connotations of "ethno-regional autonomy" vary across different national contexts (e.g. China and Russia). In other words, it is almost impossible to construct, independent of such contexts, an "objective", universally applicable definition for autonomy as implemented outcome. The formal connotations of ethnic territorially-based autonomy are usually enshrined in the relevant autonomy-establishing, legally-binding documents and shape the meaning of "autonomy" in different contexts. If we acknowledge this, then an implication can be derived: the key to effectively putting formally promulgated autonomy into practice resides in ethnic minority elites' adequate knowledge of the rules of the game for not only autonomy-building but also politics in general of the multi-ethnic states. Such knowledge can not only be useful for ethnic minority elites to capture more political, economic, and cultural resources but also make it possible for them to incrementally alter or transform the rules of the game. The building of such knowledge among ethnic minority elites, as I argue, requires social integration, or rather, a balance between ethnic minorities' concerns to maintain their distinct identities and their capacity to more effectively participate in the political, economic, and cultural developments of multi-ethnic states.

WHY STUDY ETHNIC TERRITORIALY-BASED AUTONOMY?

For multi-ethnic states, ethnic territorially-based autonomous arrangements were established in order to achieve three implicit goals: to keep minorities in the state, to constrain majorities, as well as to build a capable state that promotes inter-ethnic cooperation (Bunce and Watts 2005, 139). However, as actually exercised autonomy

outcomes can vary considerably across ethno-regions, an important corollary can be derived: merely formal arrangement of ethnic territorially-based autonomy that is meant to accommodate ethnically or territorially-based cleavages (Amoretti 2004, 11) cannot adequately avert such cleavages from growing into rigid ethnic divides or even ethnic conflicts. This corollary directs us back to the empirical puzzle of the dissertation, framed in another way: **why have some ethno-regions been so powerless towards central-state's coercive policies, while other ethno-regions have been more capable of negotiating autonomy privileges with the central-state?**

Then what is the elephant in the room? Largely, the management of such pre-existing ethnically or territorially-based cleavages does not stop at installing formal institutions but rather requires continued efforts **to build the capacity of titular elites** to put autonomy into practice and to make formal autonomy live up to its name. How can titular elites' political, economic, and cultural power be strengthened without their having to challenge outright the existing regime? Such efforts hinge upon input from and interactions between not only the titular elites and the multiethnic state's ethnic majority elites, not only the titular populace and the ethnic majority populace, but also the titular elites and the masses regardless of ethnicity. In this sense, the primary rationale for the study of ethnic territorially-based autonomy resides in its relevance to our understandings of more sustainable ways to prevent or to manage ethnic conflicts.

A second rationale is more specific, concerning the semiotic significance of an ethnic territorially-based autonomous arrangement and its implementation to both the titular ethnic population and the central state. For individuals of the titular ethnic category, territorially-based autonomous arrangements can be interpreted as a "last resort" for

maintaining the ontological security (Kinnvall 2004) of the ethnic minority's distinct identity, or rather, the confidence and trust (2004) that their common points of reference to the social world (Hale 2008, 47) remain stable. An ethno-region able to effectively practice autonomy can convey a picture of "home" (Kinnvall 2004, 762-763) to its titular ethnic population and boost the sense of ontological security among the titular population. Inversely, an ethno-region perceived as not practicing "genuine" autonomy can exacerbate the anxiety among the titular population about their ontological security.

For the multi-ethnic central state, ethnic territorially-based autonomous arrangements can be interpreted as a "maximally tolerable compromise" that can be made to reconcile distinct, entrenched ethnic identities and the state's territorial integrity. Ethno-regions that effectively build their autonomy can convey to the central state a picture of "such ethno-regions' snugly blending in and contributing to a big family" while reducing the central state's paranoia about the ontological security of its territorial integrity.

THE ARGUMENT

Of the existing approaches across social sciences to the study of ethnic politics, major types of phenomena explained include ethnic conflicts (e.g. Horowitz 1985; Gurr 2000; Gagnon 2004), ethnic co-operations (e.g. Fearon and Laitin 1996), ethnic political mobilizations (e.g. Beissinger 2002; Gorenburg 2003), ethnicity regimes and their changes (e.g. Aktürk 2011), ethnic secessions (e.g. Hale 2008), ethnic bargainings (e.g. Jenne 2007), and ethnic boundary-makings (e.g. Wimmer 2013). Compared to the study of these phenomena, theories that directly address the issue of ethnically-based regional

autonomy figures marginally, which mostly analyzes it either as a dichotomous outcome variable of having reached the institutional arrangement of autonomy or not, an independent variable impacting the likelihood of ethnic conflicts (Bunce and Watts 2005; Cederman et al. 2015), or as a prescriptive category to manage ethnic conflicts (Lake and Rothchild 1996; Lapidot 1997; Shaykhutdinov 2010; Hannum 2011) rather than as an empirical and quantifiable fact (Sambanis and Milanovic 2014). In response, I study ethnic territorially-based autonomy as a quantifiable dependent variable, and my study is intended to contribute to our understanding of ethnic politics by proposing a new approach tailored to the study of implemented autonomy outcomes of ethno-regions.

Nevertheless, useful insights can be distilled from an assessment of whether and how the analytical frameworks proposed and tested in the explaining of other orders of phenomena can be suitable for explaining the differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions. Some of the frameworks display partial fit since some of the key variables used represent either structural or agency-based factors and are varying across the selected ethno-regions of this study. Before introducing my argument, I briefly discuss the ways in which the existing approaches to the study of ethnic politics can partially, but not adequately, explain the differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions, as summarized in Table I.1. Three macro-approaches, *groupness as exogenous*, *groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure*, and *groupness as endogenous to elite agency*, can be summarized to the study of ethnic politics according to the ways they address the following question: are ethnic groups the natural agents of ethnic politics? A more detailed critical assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches is provided in Chapter 2.

The *groupness as exogenous* macro-approach tends to assume groupness, or collective consciousness, as exogenous and conceptually presupposed to the processes of ethnic politics. Represented by the comparative disadvantage theory (Gurr 2000), the positional group psychology theory (Horowitz 1985), and the value rationality theory (Varshney 2003), this approach is more focused upon common characteristics to various contexts of inter-ethnic relations. It poses itself as an unfit alternative explanation, as both Xinjiang and Tatarstan feature salient but largely settled ethnic categories, and the ethnic divide in both ethno-regions approximates an “unranked system”²¹ (Horowitz 1985, 22).

The *groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure* macro-approach treats groupness as contingent and tends to follow the tenet that ethnic groups are processual products of social interactions. According to the posited sources of groupness, this approach can largely be organized in three sub-approaches: *groupness as endogenous to institutions*, *groupness as endogenous to interactions between institutionally defined actors*, and *groupness as endogenous to group-making processes*.

The first sub-approach, *groupness as endogenous to institutions*, focuses upon the role of the state and formal institutions in terms of standardizing ethnic categories and shaping the ways people identify themselves ethnically (e.g. ethnic mobilizations, Gorenburg 2003). This approach fits partially to explain differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions, as certain types of institutions, such as federalism versus unitarism, do vary between Xinjiang and Tatarstan. However, this approach downplays the agency of elites

²¹ Structure in which ethnically-based cleavages crosscuts class-based cleavages, and the position of an ethnic group may vary from one domain to another (Horowitz 1985, 22).

and may not suffice to construct a general argument applicable both to cases with differing institutional contexts and to cases with similar institutional contexts.

The *groupness as endogenous to interactions between institutionally defined actors* approach discerns interactive dynamics between ethnic minorities, between ethnic groups, or between periphery and center in terms of how group consciousness forms according to relevant actors' mutual perceptions. It is characterized by the conception of ethnicity as cognitive device, according to which ethnic categories can constitute perspectives of perceiving, interpreting, and representing the social world (Brubaker 2004, 17). Frameworks in this approach displays partial fit to explain autonomy outcomes.

For example, Mark Beissinger's event-centered study highlights the processes of mutually transforming agency and structure in which earlier nationalist events making claims to the state and associated with some minorities can structure subsequent nationalist mobilizations associated with other minorities (2002) but is nevertheless developed largely to account for a unique outcome, the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it does not travel easily to the explaining of other orders of phenomena such as differing autonomy outcomes which are, by no means, events. The collective-fear-under-weak-state theory (Lake and Rothchild 1996), for its part, can barely travel to the explaining of differing autonomy outcomes, as the group-wide level of collective fear could be an outcome of lower level of actually exercised autonomy, while central-state capacity is not varying significantly across China and Russia. The "ethno-regional titular elites' perception of the center" theory (Hale 2008), on the other hand, is more suitable for explaining secessionist attempts. Meanwhile, to explain differing autonomy

outcomes, implicit in which is the central state's tolerance of territorially-concentrated minorities to access the ethno-regional state and to share power with the central state, center's perception of the region seems a more suitable category for explaining autonomy outcomes.

The third sub-approach, *groupness as endogenous to group-making processes*, has the merit of highlighting the processual and relational nature of the processes in which ethnic categories can translate into contested group consciousness and inter-ethnic boundaries. It acknowledges the concurrent tendencies towards assimilation and differentiation while assuming that contestation over categories and boundaries can take on different outlooks across cultural, social, and psychological dimensions (Rumbaut 2005; Wimmer 2008).

This approach presents itself as a partial fit, considering that dynamic inter-ethnic relations is a vital non-institutional factor and varies across Xinjiang and Tatarstan.

However, to explain differing autonomy outcomes, what may need to be explored is how inter-ethnic relations could shape elite agency, while the typology of ethnic boundary-making strategies treats elite agency as an explanatory factor (Wimmer 2008). Another framework, integration trade-offs theory (Maxwell 2012), posits that social segregation is conducive to political representation, but evidence from Xinjiang and Tatarstan tends to indicate the negation of the proposition.

The third macro-approach, *groupness as endogenous to elite agency*, tends to use elite-level political struggles to explain, for instance, violent conflicts (Gagnon 2004) or changes in ethnicity regimes (Aktürk 2011). Harris Mylonas' "host state's perception of non-core groups in relation to external powers" framework (2012) furnishes some theorizations about the origins of ruling elites' policies towards ethnic minorities of a

nation-state. Nevertheless, for the cases of Xinjiang and Tatarstan, it can be difficult to accurately determine who are the external powers. If any external power can be identified, there can be more than one, and such powers can be simultaneously interfering in both cases. This macro-approach is partially suitable for explaining differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions, as elites are the most relevant types of actors in the exercising of formally promulgated autonomy, and their capacity varies across ethno-regions. Nevertheless, such agency-based explanations do not adequately address the question as regards the source of elite capacity, for instance, how such structural conditions as ethnic institutions or ethnic boundary-makings may shape the building of elite capacity to exercise autonomy.

Table I.1. Approaches to the study of ethnic politics and their applicability to explaining differing autonomy outcomes

Approaches	Key variables, either as <i>explanan</i> or as <i>explanandum</i>	Fit to explain differing autonomy outcomes or not	Why?
Groupness as exogenous (internally homogeneous, externally bounded)	Perceived comparative disadvantages across groups, salience of ethnicity, and shared incentives (Gurr 2000)	Not quite	Featuring common characteristics to various contexts of inter-ethnic politics
	Positional group psychology (Horowitz 1985)		Economic power as a component aspect of actual autonomy rather than a cause;
	Value rationality (Varshney 2003)		posited that the more ethnically distinct, the more economically unequal, the more likely for the
	Regional economic power, ethnic distinctiveness, and income inequality		

	(Sambanis and Milanovic 2014)		region to be more autonomous, but the two cases point to the negation of the proposition
Groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure I: Institutions	Ethnic institutions (Gorenburg 2003);	Partially	Institutional opportunities and constraints useful as condition variables, but downplaying elite agency; not varying across regions with similar ethnic institutions
Groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure II: Interactions between institutionally defined actors (ethnicity as cognitive device)	<p>Linkages and clusterings of events challenging the center (Beissinger 2002)</p> <p>Collective fear and state capacity (Lake and Rothchild 1996)</p> <p>Regional perceptions of the center (Hale 2008)</p> <p>Discourse of self-determination and external patron (Jenne 2007)</p>	Partially	<p>Featuring processes of mutually transforming agency and structure, yet not intended for cross-case comparison (Beissinger 2002)</p> <p>Collective fear difficult to measure and likely to result from lack of actually exercised autonomy, while state capacity not varying significantly across the cases (Lake and Rothchild 1996)</p> <p>Regional perception of the center (Hale 2008) more suitable for explaining secessionist attempts, while center's perception</p>

			of the region more suitable for explaining autonomy outcomes
			External patrons (Jenne 2007) difficult to identify for relevant ethno-regions
Groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure III: Group-making processes	<p>Features, stability, changes of ethnic boundaries & modes, means of inter-ethnic boundaries (Wimmer 2008; 2013)</p> <p>Processes of assimilation and differentiation (Rumbaut 2005)</p> <p>Integration trade-offs (Maxwell 2012)</p>	Partially	<p>Varying across different ethno-regions</p> <p>Elite agency fit to explain boundary-making strategies (Wimmer 2008; 2013), but features of boundaries could also shape elite agency</p> <p>Integration trade-offs positing that segregation is conducive to representation (Maxwell 2012), but evidence of the case study indicates the negation of the proposition</p>
Groupness as endogenous to elite agency	<p>Within-group elite dynamics (Gagnon 2004)</p> <p>Counter-elites, new discourse, and regimes of ethnicity (Aktürk 2011)</p> <p>Ruling elites' perception of non-core groups in relation to</p>	Partially	<p>Varying across different ethno-regions, yet downplaying structural factors</p> <p>Some theorizations of the origins of autonomy arrangements, but not their implemented outcomes; difficult</p>

	external powers (Mylonas 2012)		to accurately determine who are the external powers (Mylonas 2012) for relevant ethno- regions
Groupness as endogenous iteratively to structure and agency	Inter-ethnic boundary- makings, titular elites' bargaining capacity, institutional constraints or opportunities	Potentially	Varying across different ethno- regions, constituting causal mechanism leading to differing autonomy outcomes

My argument builds upon the foregoing approaches by appropriating and reframing certain variables to develop an analytical framework specifically tailored to explaining the differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions. The analytical framework may constitute an example of what I call *groupness as endogenous iteratively to structure and agency* approach, in that it integrates both structural and agential factors by trying to pinpoint how inter-ethnic boundary-making processes and titular elites' bargaining capacity²² may have been mutually shaping in an iterative manner. That said, considering that the degree of actually exercised autonomy is by definition an outcome of human agency, the analytical framework will focus more upon how inter-ethnic boundary-making processes can fashion titular elites' bargaining capacity than upon the opposite direction of interactions. This framework possesses the explanatory potential to account for cross-case variations of implemented autonomy, not only because empirically both

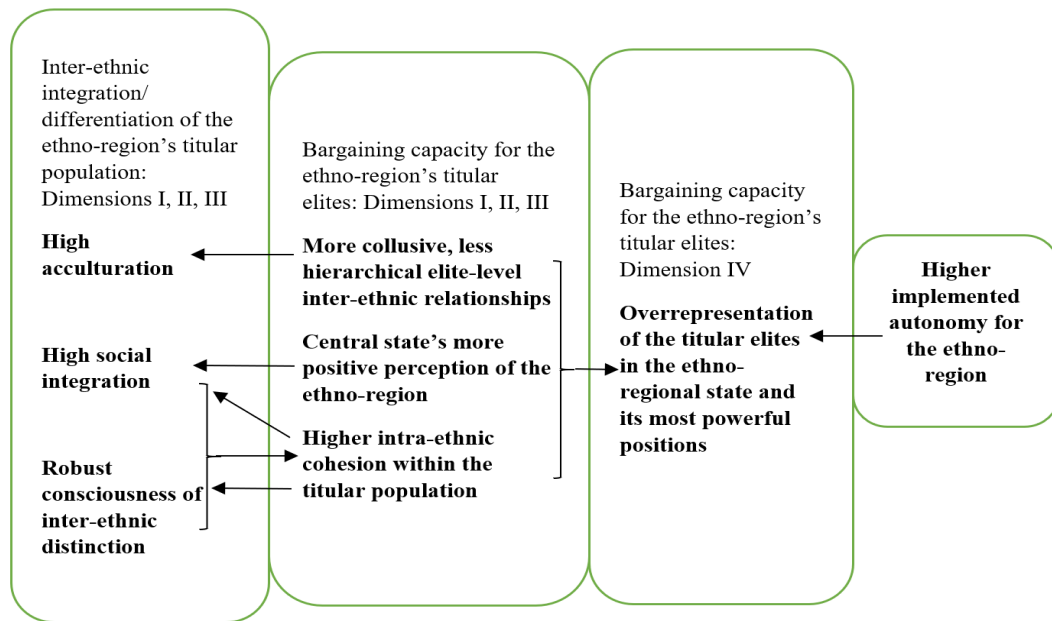
²² I subscribe to the conception of agency as "capacity to appropriate and potentially transform structural resources in a self-conscious, reflexive manner" (Mahoney and Snyder 1999, 24).

inter-ethnic boundary-making processes and titular elites' bargaining capacity vary patently across Xinjiang and Tatarstan, but also because it highlights a causal mechanism that allows one to trace the process that flows from differing inter-ethnic boundary-makings to differing autonomy outcomes.

I argue that **an integration-distinction balance**, or rather, **greater inter-ethnic integration combined with robust consciousness of inter-ethnic distinction, is conducive to building the capacity both for elites of the titular ethnic category to bargain with the central state and for intra-ethnic cohesion, which in turn can lead to greater autonomy outcome for the ethno-region**. Inversely, **a lack of inter-ethnic integration, coupled with sticky inter-ethnic divide, can be detrimental to building the capacity both for elites of the titular ethnic category to bargain with the central state and for intra-ethnic cohesion, which in turn can lead to more subdued autonomy outcome for the ethno-region**. The mechanism behind the foregoing arguments is predicated upon an analytical framework consisting of a response variable, a major explanatory variable, a major intervening variable, and two condition variables, as illustrated in Figures I.1. and I.2.

Components of the analytical framework

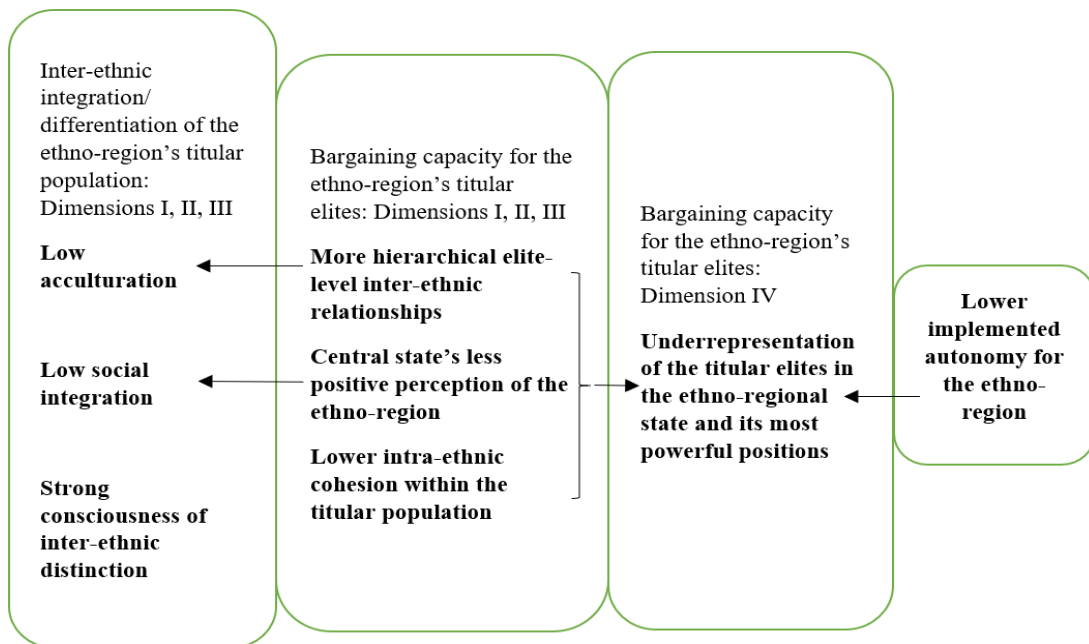
Figure I.1. Greater inter-ethnic integration, greater elite capacity, greater autonomy outcome



^a A←B signifies that A is a necessary condition for B.

^b A→B signifies that A is a sufficient condition for B.

Figure I.2. Lesser inter-ethnic integration, lesser elite capacity, lesser autonomy outcome



^a $A \leftarrow B$ signifies that A is a necessary condition for B.

^b $A \rightarrow B$ signifies that A is a sufficient condition for B.

The major explanatory variable, *inter-ethnic boundary-makings*, characterizes the relations between populations of an ethno-region's titular ethnic category and the central state's ethnic majority category and features ethno-region-level variation. I define inter-ethnic boundary-makings of an ethno-region as processes in which actors of both the ethno-region's titular category and the central state's majority category relate to existing boundaries by trying either to maintain them or to change them, either to reinforce them or to de-emphasize them in a historical context characterized by previous processes of ethnic group formation. Inter-ethnic boundary-making processes entail both tendencies towards integration and tendencies towards differentiation, and such processes are related to both demographic patterns and impact from prior regimes. This major explanatory variable is analyzed on three dimensions, i.e. acculturation, social integration, and psychological identification (Rumbaut 2005, 166-168).

Acculturation connotes the processes of linguistic/cultural diffusions or changes that result in greater linguistic and cultural similarity (167), or continuum, between populations of the titular ethnic category of the ethno-region and the central state's ethnic majority category. This dimension is operationalized in terms of actual and perceived level of fluency in the multiethnic state's *lingua franca* among the population of the titular ethnic category. For example, ethnic Koreans in the former Soviet Union are considered highly acculturated, since almost all adult-age Soviet Koreans are fluent in Russian while also perceived as such by individuals of other ethnic categories.

Social integration is associated with aggregating the processes of interpersonal, socioeconomic, and spatial interactions relevant to the economy, the polity, and the community among the populations of both an ethno-region's titular ethnic category and the central state's ethnic majority category. Questions pertinent to this dimension include whether there tends to be more crosscutting cleavages (Lipset 1960; Ahuja & Varshney 2005, 259-264) or more overlapping cleavages in the ways the titular ethnic minority and the central state's ethnic majority relate to each other. The degree of such social integration of an ethnic group can be assessed according to such demographic indicators as levels of urbanization, education attainments, intermarriage rates with the majority ethnic group, as well as residential patterns (Rumbaut 2005, 166-168; Maxwell 2012, 13). For example, ethnic Mongols in China tend to be overall socially well-integrated in terms of level of urbanization, education, intermarriages and mixed residential patterns with ethnic Han, the ethnic majority of China.

Psychological identification lays the micro-foundation for group consciousness. This dimension is further disaggregated into two aspects, the degree of thickness (Wimmer 2013, 104, or "stickiness," Chandra 2009, 378) and the salience of an ethno-region's titular ethnic category against massive identity shift into the central state's ethnic majority category (Rumbaut 2005). The aspect "degree of thickness" is associated with the level of ethnic consciousness among individuals of the titular ethnic category. It reflects the contestations on whether and how ethnic cleavages are supposed to overlap, or to cumulate (Ahuja and Varshney 2005, 259-264), with other dimensions of cleavages associated with such cultural attributes (Chandra and Laitin 2002) as language, religion, urbanization, class, place of origin, etc. The more dimensions of non-ethnic cleavages

align with ethnically-based cleavages in the construction of group consciousness, the thicker ethnic categories tend to be. For example, for an individual to be perceived as an “authentic” ethnic Uyghur and respected among “co-ethnics,” she or he needs to have an officially registered “Uyghur-style” name, to speak Uyghur fluently, to follow a Halal diet, and to claim to be Muslim. In this example, different dimensions of cultural attributes align with one another and thicken the ethnic category of “being Uyghur.” Meanwhile, the aspect of salience is intended to capture how contested the meanings and implications of an ethno-region’s titular ethnic category tend to be in various issue areas of daily social interactions. For instance, in Xinjiang, the category “Uyghur” marked on governmentally-issued identification card often is associated with extra inspection at security checkpoints or with extra wait time in passport applications.

The major intervening variable activating the link flowing from pattern of inter-ethnic boundary-makings to autonomy outcome is *titular elites’ capacity to bargain with the central state*. I define elite agency in terms of capacity to appropriate and to potentially transform structural resources in a self-conscious, reflexive manner (Mahoney and Snyder 1999, 24). The bargaining capacity of an ethno-region’s elites of the titular ethnic category is their ability to employ both material and discursive resources to participate in and to influence decision-makings at both the central and ethno-regional states. Such ability is constituted by four dimensions, i.e. elite-level inter-ethnic relations, central state’s perception of the titular population, intra-ethnic cleavage structure, and titular elites’ representation in the ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions.

Elite-level inter-ethnic relations is analyzed on two aspects, nature of elite-level relationship and networks of elite-level political alliances. The former aspect refers to

whether titular elites at the ethno-regional level are more horizontally collusive or more hierarchically related to ethnic majority elites at both the ethno-regional and central states. For example, the relations between ethnic Tatar and Russian elites at the ethno-regional state of Tatarstan are characterized more by horizontal collusion than by hierarchy. Meanwhile, the latter aspect is conceptualized in terms of whether titular elites tend to build their personal and political networks beyond their own ethnic category, in particular, into the central-state-defined ethnic majority category, or within their own ethnic category. *Central state's perception of the titular population* refers to the largely consistent patterns in the central state's perception of both the elites and the masses of the titular ethnic category, while the dimension of *intra-ethnic cleavage structure* entails the political, economic, and cultural divides between the elites and the masses of the titular ethnic group and addresses the questions as regard what dimensions of cleavages exist and how salient they can be (Greif and Laitin 2004, 645). Intra-ethnic cleavage structure is an inherent component of the inter-ethnic cleavage structure between populations of the titular ethnic category and the ethnic majority category. Titular elites' potential to mobilize masses irrespective of ethnic categories derives from such a structure. For example, in Tatarstan, a significantly broad spectrum of mostly urban-based Tatars and a minority of rural Tatars, who shared similar socio-economic profiles with one another, were mobilized in the ethno-national movement leading to RT's declaration of "sovereignty" in 1990.

The fourth dimension, *level of titular elites' representation in the ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions*, is operationalized by means of calculating and weighting the quotients of the percentage of titular elites in the key posts of various ethno-regional

state apparatuses divided by the percentage of the population of the titular ethnic category in the ethno-regional population for a time frame relevant to the implemented autonomy outcome under study. Such apparatuses may include the formally designated executive, legislature, judiciary, incumbent political party, and coercive organs such as police and military. The representation quotients of each of such apparatuses will be assigned a weight according to the decision-making power they wield.

The two condition variables, formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations, are binary ones constituting institutional constraints and opportunities. The former is associated with formally federal or unitary structures governing the relationship between the central state and various ethno-regions and is examined on two dimensions, fiscal federalism or not and political federalism or not. The latter pertains to whether the governmental apparatus at the ethno-regional level is formally designed to be subordinate to an incumbent political party directed from the central-state level in terms of personnel, decision-making, and ideology. These two types of formal institutions are designated as “condition variables” because they do not “produce” autonomy outcome but only either amplify or inhibit the impact of titular elites’ bargaining capacity upon the actually exercised autonomy outcome.

Scope conditions

The class of cases to which my proposed analytical framework may be applicable consists of territorially-defined ethno-regions rather than ethnic groups *per se*, although a

titular²³ ethnic population is usually implied for an ethno-region. Accordingly, the level of analysis is subnational, while the unit of analysis is subnational-level ethno-regions under sovereign states. In this sense, the analytical framework leaves out of its scope those ethnic minorities for whom no autonomy territories have been formally designated by the central states (e.g. Kurds in Turkey, Turks in Germany, ethnic Russians in Kazakhstan, ethnic Koreans in Japan, ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, ethnic Igbos in Nigeria, etc.), irrespective of their being considered “indigenous” or “immigrants”. Also outside its scope are quasi-states such as Abkhazia, Northern Cyprus, Nagorno-Karabakh, Somaliland, etc., since they have been sustained largely outside of the control of those states either claiming or disputing sovereignty over them. Nor does its scope encompass autonomous entities established not on ethnic lines such as Hong Kong SAR, Mount Athos, etc.

Some quintessential examples of cases meeting the scope conditions of my argument include the Basque country (Spain), Catalonia (Spain), Nunavut (Canada), Iraqi Kurdistan, Åland Islands/Ahvenanmaa (Finland), Vojvodina (Serbia), even Québec (Canada) and Scotland (United Kingdom). Aside from these ethno-regions, the Russian Federation (hereafter RF) and the People’s Republic of China (hereafter PRC) boast of the largest concentration of territorially-based autonomous entities formally established for ethnic minorities. In Russia, 27 of its 85 constituent entities are constitutionally autonomous entities (Russian: *respublika*, *avtonomnyi oblast’*, *avtonomnyi okrug*) designated for ethnic minorities, while in China, five of its 34 provincial-level

²³ Referring to the ethnic minority for which a particular territorially-based autonomous arrangement has been formally designated.

administrative divisions are autonomous regions (Chinese: *zizhiqu*). In this sense, the ethno-regions of China and Russia may constitute an ideal set of cases to which to apply my proposed analytical framework.

CASE SELECTION

In tandem with the scope conditions, case selection approximates Mill's method of difference, or rather, the principle of "most similar" cases that may require the selected cases to be comparable in most aspects except for the key explanatory variables, whose variance may be used to account for the different outcomes on the response variables (George and Bennett 2005, 81). In this spirit, I conduct two explanatory case studies²⁴ in parallel by applying my analytical framework to a controlled comparison (George and Bennett 2005, 81) of actually exercised autonomy outcomes of the two ethno-regions that have inspired my puzzle: The Republic of Tatarstan in Russia and the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China. RT and XUAR can be viewed as "most similar" cases in terms of many similar characteristics of the respective central states, ethno-regions, and titular ethnic populations that can be controlled for, while the response variable, actually exercised autonomy outcome, varies across the two ethno-regions. Instead of a within-country comparison, the cross-country, Russia-China comparison as entailed by the cases of RT and XUAR is intended to allow for greater variation on the response variable as well as for broader applicability of my analytical framework.

²⁴ According to James Mahoney at the 2014 Institute for Qualitative and Multi-method Research, "explanatory case studies" are characterized by the effort to explain a specific outcome in a particular case, history of the case, a focus on processes over time, considering a wide range of explanatory factors and theories, theory development and testing not cleanly separated.

Respective central states

As summarized in Table I.2., both China and Russia are quintessential multi-ethnic states, where the respective ethnic majorities, ethnic Han and ethnic Russians, make up more than three quarters of the total populations, while non-Han and non-Russian ethnic minorities feature significantly sizable total populations of close to 112 and 30 million respectively²⁵. In terms of residential patterns, ethnic minorities in both China and Russia tend to be territorially concentrated while also increasingly dispersed beyond what they may traditionally call homelands. Both PRC and RF's institutionalized managements of ethnic politics follow the Soviet model, which was devised combining both territorial and personal conceptions of ethnicity (Gorenburg 2003, 31). This model features official categorization of populations in ethnic terms, tiers of territorially-based formal autonomous entities designated for ethnic minorities²⁶, massive recruitment and trainings of ethnic-minority cadres, and the promotion and diffusion of the overarching citizenship-based identity categories of being *Zhongguoren* in PRC or being *Rossiyanin*²⁷/*Rossiyanka*²⁸ in RF.

In both China and Russia, state-sponsored expression of ethnic diversity has been allowed and under certain circumstances encouraged, while ethnic minorities are

²⁵ Calculated from PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013); *All Russia Population Census 2010*, <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017).

²⁶ June Teufel Dreyer calls the tiered autonomous entities "system of autonomous areas" (1976, 262-263), under the names of *republic*, *autonomous region*, *autonomous okrug*, *autonomous oblast*, *autonomous prefecture*, *autonomous county*, *autonomous banner*, etc.

²⁷ Masculine form in Russian.

²⁸ Feminine form in Russian.

constitutionally guaranteed with equal citizenship as are the ethnic Han and ethnic Russian populations. In terms of levels of economic and political development, China and Russia’s respective levels of Human Development Index are quite close to each other, while neither is counted as “free” according to Freedom House’s 2016 report, even if some scholars would typologize the contemporary political regime in Russia as “competitive authoritarian” (Levitsky and Way 2002).

Table I.2. Characteristics of China and Russia compared

	People’s Republic of China	Russian Federation
Constitutionally defined as multi-ethnic or not	Yes	Yes
Population officially categorized ethnically or not (e.g. in censuses)	Yes	Yes
% of those categorized as ethnic majority (2010)	91.6% ^b	80.9% ^d
% of those categorized as ethnic minority (2010)	8.4% ^c	19.1% ^e
Ethnicity indicated on governmentally-issued identification paper or not	Yes	No
Citizenship restricted to one ethnic category or not	No	No
Ethnic territorially based autonomy designated for certain ethnic minorities or not	Yes (5 autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures, 117 autonomous counties, 3 autonomous banners)	Yes (22 republics, including Crimea ^f , 4 autonomous okrug, 1 autonomous oblast’)
Ethno-federalism ^a or not	No	Yes
More than one language accorded with official status at the subnational level or not	Yes	Yes

Ethnically-based affirmative action in practice or not	Yes	Yes
Freedom status	Not free	Not free (2005-present)
Human Development Index (HDI) (2015)	0.738	0.804

^a Henry E. Hale defines an ethno-federal state as “a federal state in which at least one constituent territorial governance unit is intentionally associated with a specific ethnic category” (2014, 167-168).

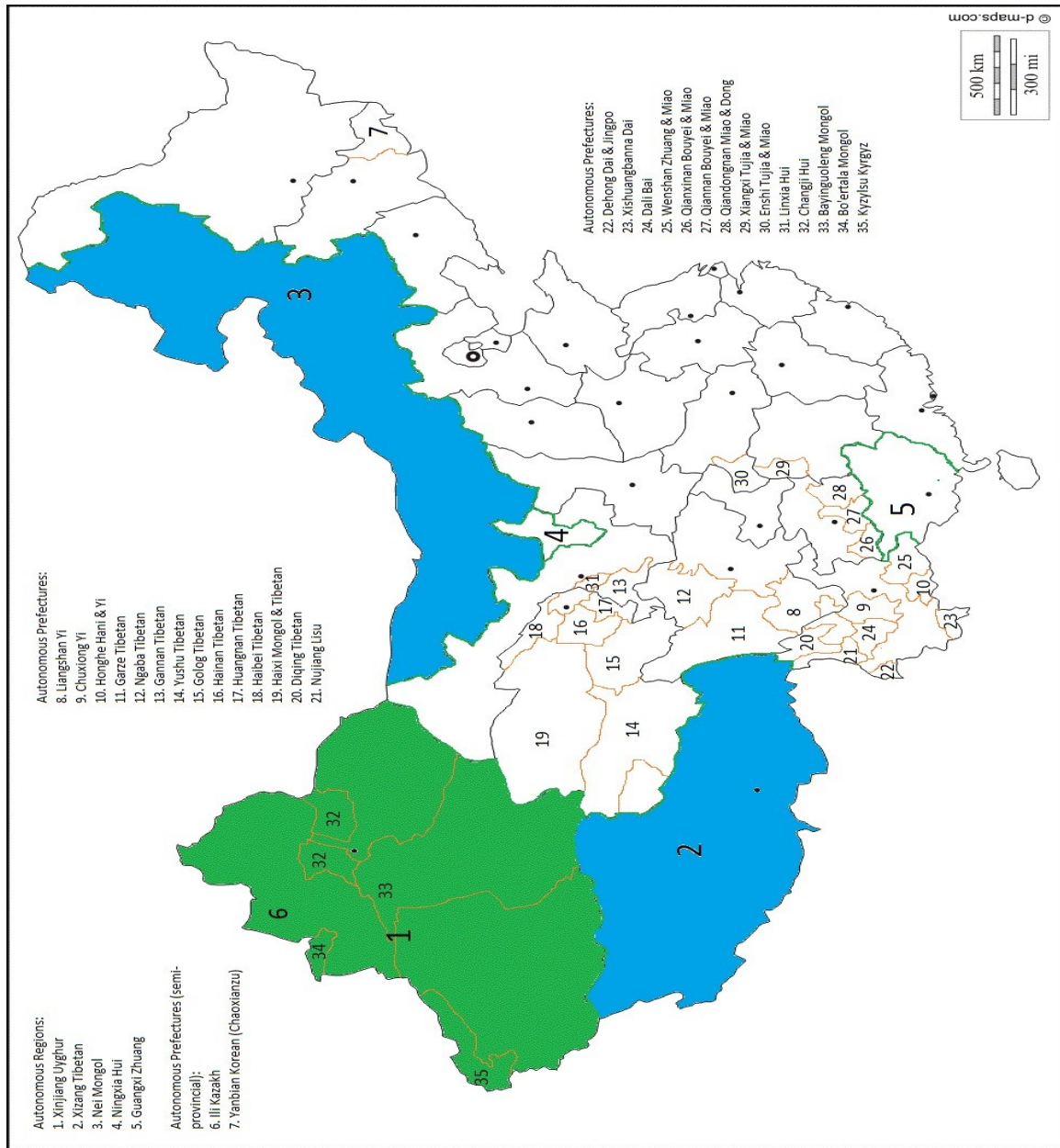
^{b,c} Not counting the 2.3 million active duty military personnel and 4.65 million whose locality of permanent residence was difficult to determine. Not counting those holding non-PRC citizenship.

^{d,e} Counting those who indicated their ethnicity in the 2010 census, including those holding non-RF citizenship.

^f In the *Constitution of the Russian Federation*, Crimea has been included as a constituent entity of the Russian Federation since March 21, 2014.

Sources: PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013); *All Russia Population Census 2010*, <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017); Dominique Arel, *Fixing Ethnicity in Identity Documents: the Rise and Fall of Passport Nationality in Russia* (National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, 2001); The National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China, *Constitution of the People’s Republic of China*, http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/node_505.htm (accessed February 28, 2017); President of Russia, *Constitution of the Russian Federation*, <http://constitution.kremlin.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017); United Nations Development Program, *International Human Development Indicators*, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries> (accessed February 28, 2017); Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2016*, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2016> (accessed February 28, 2017); Chen, Chao, and Hongling Chen, *Atlas of the Continuity and Change in the Territorial Administrative Arrangements of the People’s Republic of China* (Beijing: Zhongguo Ditu Chubanshe, 2012).

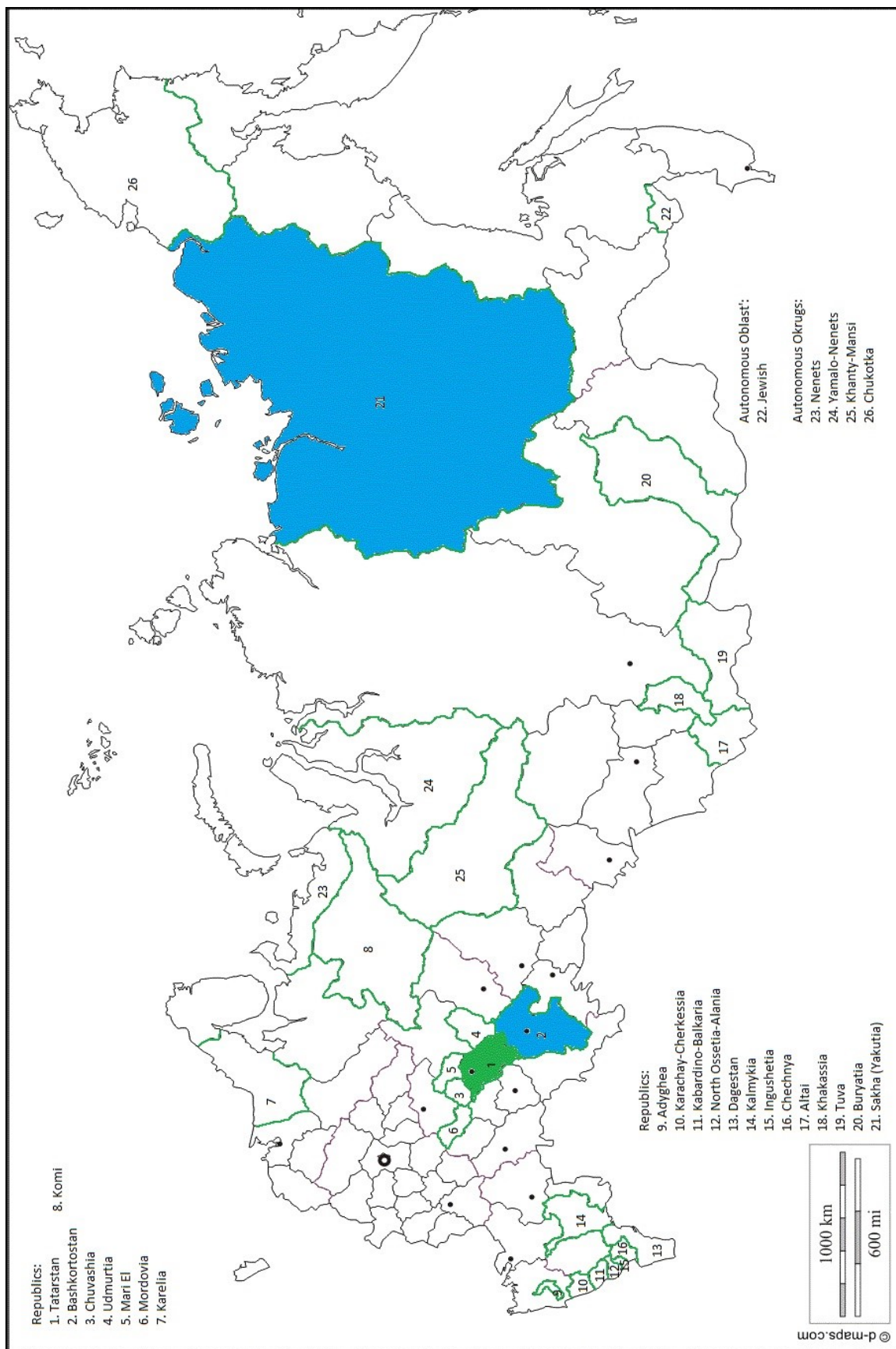
Figure I.3. Ethno-regions in China



Source of the base map: <http://d-maps.com/m/asia/china/chine/chine78.gif> (accessed May 31, 2017).

Notes: Ethno-region filled in green is discussed in Chapter 4; Ethno-regions filled in blue are discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure I.4. Ethno-regions in Russia



Source of the base map: <http://d-maps.com/m/europa/russia/russie/russie66.gif> (accessed May 31, 2017).

Notes: Ethno-region filled in green is discussed in Chapter 5; Ethno-regions filled in blue are discussed in Chapter 6.

Respective ethno-regions and titular ethnic populations

Officially two populations of “Tatars” are categorized in the population censuses of the RF, Tatars (Russian: *Tatary*) and Crimean Tatars (Russian: *Krymskie Tatary*). They differ in terms of linguistic and cultural attributes and tend to psychologically identify themselves separately. Tatars (Tatar: *Tatarlar*) include those who identify themselves simply as “Tatars” and those who identify with such sub-categories as Kerəshens (Russian: *Kryasheni*), Siberian Tatars (Russian: *Sibirskie Tatary*, Tatar: *Seber Tatarları*) and Mishars (Russian: *Mishari*, Tatar: *Mishər*). Tatars constitute the largest non-Russian ethnic category in Russia. In China, Uyghurs’ (Uyghur: *Uyghurlar*, Chinese: *Weiwu’erzu*) ethnic language is the most spoken non-Sinitic language²⁹ in China. Hence, the Tatar-Russian and Uyghur-Han relations can be of country-wide political significance or repercussion.

Both Tatars and Uyghurs are among the most populous Turkic-speaking populations of the world, yet neither of them has attained independent statehood where they would constitute the majority categories, especially in contrast with the eponymous ethnic categories of five former Soviet republics³⁰. Meanwhile, self-perception and perception of both ethnic minorities by the ethnic majorities of respective multi-ethnic states as

²⁹ The largest ethnic minority of China, ethnic Zhuang, have yet to develop a common ethnic language. Three types of linguistic situations exist among ethnic Zhuang in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (GZAR) and Yunnan Province: 1. Speaking only Tai-Kadai dialects; 2. Speaking only *Jia Zhuang*, Sinitic dialects mixed with Tai-Kadai morphemes; 3. Speaking only Sinitic dialects. Mandarin Chinese has largely become the *lingua franca* for ethnic Zhuang in China.

³⁰ Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan.

linguistically (non-Slavic or non-Sinitic) and religiously³¹ (traditionally Muslim majority with minorities of atheists, Christians, etc.) distinct constitute another similarity.

Nonetheless, the degree of distinction does vary, and I capture that in terms of the key explanatory variable “inter-ethnic boundary-makings.”

The bulk of both populations reside within the territories of Russia and China and are citizens of the respective multi-ethnic states and have their respective subnational-level “autonomous” ethno-regions in which to claim titular status. Among both populations, the rise of ethno-national consciousness translates at times into ethnically-based mobilizations. In terms of relative demographic weight, both the Tatar-Russian population ratio in Tatarstan and Uyghur-Han population ratio in Xinjiang are close to 1:1. Both ethno-regions are resource-rich, especially in terms of oil and gas, even though the level of industrialization is much higher in Tatarstan than in Xinjiang, which nevertheless has also seen rapid industrialization in recent years.

Table I.3. Characteristics of Xinjiang and Tatarstan compared

	Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region	Republic of Tatarstan
Area (sq. km)	1,664,897km ²	67,836km ²
Population according to official census (2010) (% of the total population of the respective country)	21,815,815 (1.64%)	3,786,488 (2.65%)
% of titular population (2010)	45.8% (approximately 49% in 2014)	53.2%

³¹ For the dissertation, religion is conceptualized as a mode of identification, or rather, a dimension of identity.

% of urban population (2010)	39.9%	75.4%
Distance and direction from the multi-ethnic state's capital	Approximately 3100km northwest of Beijing	Approximately 716km east of Moscow
Form and date of incorporation into the multi-ethnic state or its predecessors	Conquest of Altishahr and Dzungaria ^a by the Qing Empire in the 1760s; Xinjiang Province founded in 1884; Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region founded in 1955	Conquest of the Kazan Khanate by the Tsardom of Muscovy in 1552; Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (hereafter TASSR) founded in 1920; Treaty between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation first signed in 1994
Major languages	Uyghur (Turkic), Mandarin Chinese (Sino-Tibetan), Kazakh (Turkic)	Tatar (Turkic), Russian (Indo-European)
Major religions	Muslim, Han Buddhism, Taoism, Tibetan Buddhism, Orthodox Christianity, various folk religions, others	Muslim, Orthodox Christianity, folk religions, others
GDP per capita (2014)	40,648 Yuan (≈\$6643 ^b)	434,509.1 Rubles (≈\$7723 ^c)
Sectoral composition of ethno-regional GDP (2010)	primary sector 19.8%, secondary sector 47.7%, tertiary sector 32.5%	agriculture 7.9%, industry 42.2%, construction 9.5%, transportation 5.0%, service sector 28.5%

^a Prior to the expansion of Oirat (Kalmyk) tribal federations into the area north of the Tianshan Mountains, Dzungaria was called Moghulistan ruled by Muslim Chaghatayids, whose descendants today are mostly found among ethnic Uyghurs or ethnic Kazakhs.

^b Converted according to the exchange rate of December 31, 2014, from PRC State Administration of Foreign Exchange, http://www.safe.gov.cn/wps/portal/sy/tjsj_hljzj_inquire (accessed February 28, 2017)

^c Converted according to the exchange rate of December 31, 2014, from the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, http://cbr.ru/currency_base/daily.aspx?date_req=31.12.2014 (accessed February 28, 2017)

Sources: Calculated from the following census publications and statistical yearbooks, *2015 Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook* (Statistical Bureau of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region); *The Republic of Tatarstan: A Brief Geographical Guide* (Kazan: Tatarskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 2013); *Amount and Changes of Tatarstan's GDP in Base Prices* (Kazan: Republic of Tatarstan Branch of the Federal Statistical Service, 2016); PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013); *All Russia Population Census 2010*. <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017); S. Frederick Starr, ed. *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

Table I.4. Characteristics of ethnic Uyghurs and ethnic Tatars compared

	Ethnic Uyghurs in the People's Republic of China	Ethnic Tatars in the Russian Federation
Population according to official census (2010)	10,069,346 (the fifth largest group of China after ethnic Han, Zhuang, Hui, and Manchu)	5,310,649 ^b (the second largest group of Russia after ethnic Russians)
Who are they according to the official censuses?	Name of the ethnic category in Chinese: <i>Weiwu'erzu</i> , including the Chinese- speaking Hunan Uyghurs (<i>Hunan Weiwu'erzu</i>)	Name of the ethnic category in Russian: <i>Tatary</i> , including Kerashens ^c (<i>Kryasheni</i>), Siberian Tatars (<i>Sibirskie Tatary</i>) and Mishars (<i>Mishari</i>) but not Crimean Tatars (<i>Krymskie Tatary</i>)
Eponymous independent state present or absent	Absent	Absent
Type of ethnic language	Turkic	Turkic
% of those speaking or claiming to speak the eponymous ethnic language and/or its variants	>90% ^a (the largest non-Sinitic language of China)	69% (2010, the second largest language of Russia)
Religion	Traditionally Muslim	Traditionally Muslim (minority of Orthodox Christians, e.g. Kerashens)
Subnational-level ethnically and territorially based autonomous units designated for the ethnic category (ethno-regions)	Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (provincial-level administrative unit)	Republic of Tatarstan (constituent entity of the RF)
% of those living in the corresponding ethno-region (2010)	99.3%	37.9%
Other subnational-level administrative units where significant populations of individuals of the ethnic category live	Beijing, Hunan, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Shanghai	Bashkortostan, Tyumen (Khanty-Mansi), Chelyabinsk, Orenburg, Ulyanovsk, City of Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Samara, Perm, Udmurtia, Penza, Astrakhan

Other countries where significant populations of perceived co-ethnics are found	Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, Russia	Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Turkey, China
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^a Ethnic Uyghurs who do not know the Uyghur language are rare and mostly found among ethnic Uyghurs in Beijing and Hunan Province. Hunan Uyghurs use local Sinitic dialect as their mother tongue.

^b Close to 2,000 people throughout Russia (in Tatarstan in particular) identified themselves as ethnically “Bulgar” in the 2010 population census. These people would otherwise be conventionally categorized as ethnic Tatars.

^c Some of the Kerashens do not consider themselves ethnic Tatars but rather constituting a separate ethnic group.

Sources: PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013); *All Russia Population Census 2010*. <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017).

Despite the foregoing similarities, the degree of actually practiced autonomy differs dramatically between RT and XUAR. RT has not only been the major champion of ethno-federalism but also attained the most political, economic, and cultural autonomy of all the ethnic republics in Russia. By contrast, resentment among the Uyghur population towards the limited autonomy XUAR has been practicing vis-à-vis the central state persists. Sporadic eruptions of violent inter-ethnic clashes have been reported. Empirically, Tatarstan is illustrative of the maximal autonomy an ethno-region has thus far been able to attain in Russia and tend to epitomize the more negotiation-oriented than coercive nature of Moscow’s control over its ethnic republics. Meanwhile, Xinjiang is exemplary of the minimal autonomy an ethno-region has thus far attained in China and tend to epitomize the less negotiation-oriented than coercive nature of Beijing’s control over its autonomous regions. Therefore, the comparison of Xinjiang and Tatarstan may inform us of not only cross-case patterns of variations but also how certain general characteristics of inter-ethnic and center-periphery relations differ across Russia and China.

Although not selected as the cases my research is intended to study in-depth, other ethno-regions such as Bashkortostan, Sakha Republic, Chuvashia, Chechnya, Udmurtia, Mari

El, North-Ossetia-Alania, Buryatia, etc. in Russia and Tibet (Xizang), Inner Mongolia (Nei Mongol), Ningxia Hui, Guangxi Zhuang in China can be regarded as the “shadow cases” for my argument. My argument abducted from the Xinjiang-Tatarstan comparison will be succinctly tested to four additional ethno-regions in order to evaluate its applicability to the broader constellation of inter-ethnic and center-periphery relations in Russia and China. The four additional ethno-regions are the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (Nei Mongol) and the Tibet Autonomous Region (Xizang, hereafter XAR) of China as well as the Republic of Bashkortostan (hereafter RB) and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia, hereafter RS) of Russia.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Primary data was collected both to accumulate causal-process observations (CPOs) (Collier 2011, 823) and data-set observations (DSOs) (823). The CPOs are used to trace the process of how the three dimensions of inter-ethnic boundary-makings, acculturation, social integration, and psychological identification, mold the three dimensions of titular elites’ capacity, elite-level inter-ethnic relations, central state’s perception of the titular population, and intra-ethnic cleavage structure, which jointly shape a fourth dimension, titular elites’ representation in the ethno-regional state’s most powerful positions. The DSOs are used to generate data that enables cross-case comparison on dimensions of the response variable, the explanatory variable, the intervening variable, and the condition variables. The actual analysis of data is reliant upon a combination of primary and secondary data, qualitative and quantitative data, in order to identify cross-case variations

on the response, explanatory, and intervening variables as well as to establish causal links between these variables.

The collection of primary data is based upon extensive fieldworks that combined interviews, participant observations, and oral history conducted mostly in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan of Russia as well as in Xinjiang and Beijing of China. Field trips took place between the summer of 2015 and the summer of 2017, whose combined duration reached six months. In Russia, localities I reached include Kazan, Arsk/Archa, Bolgar, Yelabuga/Alabuga, Naberezhnye Chelny/Yar Challı of Tatarstan and Ufa of Bashkortostan; in China, localities I reached include Ürümqi, Hami/Qumul, Karamay, Yining/Ghulja, Kashi/Kashgar, Artush, and Korla. In total, 83 interviews were conducted³², of which 37 interviews were conducted in China and 46 interviews were conducted in Russia. A variety of site-specific documents were also gathered, such as census data, yearbooks, journals, policy guidelines, elites' biographies, scholarly works, internally circulated materials, etc.

In-depth interviews were used to compare the nature of the relationship between Tatarstan-based ethnic Tatar elites and the Russian central-state and that between Xinjiang-based ethnic Uyghur elites and the Chinese central state. I also employed interviews to identify patterns of inter-ethnic boundary-makings among ethnic Tatar elites and among ethnic Uyghur elites. Ethnographic participant observation was used to assess the compliance of implemented autonomy with formally stipulated autonomy in

³² Respondents were selected out of "snowball sampling," which allows the respondents I have already secured to further refer respondents, since random sampling was not feasible in either Xinjiang or Tatarstan. To the extent possible, I diversified my initial set of respondents according to ethnicity, place of origin, and social class while employing participant observation to compensate for selection bias.

Tatarstan and Xinjiang. Participant observations were also utilized to identify the differing patterns across Uyghur-Han boundary-makings in Xinjiang and Tatar-Russian boundary-makings in Tatarstan. Oral history, as integrated part of some interview sessions, was used to collect perspectives on ethnic Tatar or Uyghur elites' respective relations to ethnic Tatar or Uyghur masses. It was also employed to capture the respective perceptions among ethnic Tatar and Uyghur elites as regards whether they have been well-represented in respective ethno-regional state authorities. To ameliorate credibility of respondents' accounts, I strive to tease out converging patterns of respondents' knowledge from relatively idiosyncratically-based perspectives. To facilitate more spontaneity in respondents' statements and to mitigate the effect of respondents being directed by my questions or aware of being observed, I tended to use open-ended interviews with improvised questions and to cross-verify different respondents' perspectives while triangulating them with participant observations.

In Russia, the languages used in the gathering of primary data are Russian and Tatar. I was able to develop solid knowledge of and skills in the Tatar language during the fieldwork in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, which enabled me to extensively access the worldviews vibrantly grounded in the Tatar language. In China, the languages used are mostly Mandarin Chinese, but Uyghur was also used to the extent possible, especially in the scenarios where the respondents either had very limited knowledge of Mandarin Chinese or felt more comfortable using the Uyghur language. I strived to the extent possible not to bias one language against the other in my accessing of respondents' perspectives in the fields.

To measure and to compare the response variable, an ethno-region's implemented autonomy outcome, I use both state-generated data and respondents' perspectives while cross-verifying them with my personal observations. I analyze these data by proposing an instrument that scores an ethno-region's implemented autonomy outcome and enables cross-case comparison and by applying it to both the two focused and the four shadow cases. To capture and to compare the explanatory variable, an ethno-region's inter-ethnic boundary-makings, I also rely upon state-generated data, in particular census data, and respondents' perspectives while cross-verifying them with my personal observations. These data are analyzed by means of an instrument that scores an ethnic population's level of integration and enables cross-case comparison. This instrument is also applied to both the focused and shadow cases. To capture and to compare the intervening variable, titular elites' bargaining capacity, I employ a combination of respondents' perspectives, state-generated data, media coverage, and previous scholarly works while cross-verifying them with my personal observations. Specifically, to compare different ethno-regions on the dimension "titular elites' representation in the ethno-regional state's most powerful positions," I also develop an instrument that calculates the representation-per-population quotient for the titular population of an ethno-region. This quotient signals underrepresentation, proportional representation, or overrepresentation of titular elites in the ethno-regional state. The two condition variables, formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations, vary at the national level and are discussed mostly based upon secondary data such as state-generated data, media coverage, and previous scholarly works. The study of the four shadow cases is reliant mostly upon secondary data.

PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation consists of seven chapters in total.

Chapter 2 mostly situates my argument and analytical framework in the existing literature. The first part of the chapter traces the conceptual origin in the existing scholarship of several key concepts of the dissertation, namely, ethnicity, ethnic minority and ethnic majority, ethnic institutions, and ethnic territorially-based autonomy as a type of ethnic institution. In this part, I also delineate my conceptualization of these concepts in relation to the existing literature. The second part critically and comparatively assess, in more details, the strengths and weaknesses of alternative approaches found in the existing literature to the explaining of differing autonomy outcomes in terms of both why they may not adequately be suitable and why my analytical framework, by building upon and synthesizing existing approaches, may possess greater explanatory potential.

Chapter 3 is the first empirical chapter. It establishes differing autonomy outcomes across Xinjiang and Tatarstan as observable facts. In this chapter, I both conceptualize and operationalize the response variable, actually exercised autonomy outcome. The chapter begins with briefly reviewing the respective historical trajectories of institutionalized ethnicity in China and Russia. Then I compare ethnic territorially-based autonomy as prescriptive institution in China and Russia. The chapter culminates with the introduction of a conceptual framework with which to measure and to compare, based upon collected data, the differing degrees of actually-exercised autonomy of Xinjiang and Tatarstan. Within that framework, dimensions of an ethno-region's implemented autonomy outcome

for a specific time frame are scored, weighted and aggregated to create a score of compliance for that ethno-region. I argue that compliance of implemented autonomy with formally stipulated autonomy has been much higher in Tatarstan than in Xinjiang for the first six years of the 2010s.

The next two empirical chapters, Chapters 4 and 5, comprehensively employ my proposed analytical framework to explain the differing autonomy outcomes across Xinjiang and Tatarstan. The two chapters trace the process that leads to differing autonomy outcomes in both ethno-regions of how patterns of inter-ethnic boundary-makings, analyzed on the dimensions of acculturation, social integration, and psychological identification, shape titular elites' bargaining capacity, analyzed on the dimensions of elite-level inter-ethnic relations, central-state's perception of the titular population, intra-ethnic cleavage structure, and titular elites' representation in the ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions.

Chapter 4 examines in details the most recent trends in Uyghur-Han inter-ethnic boundary-makings and ethnic Uyghur elites' bargaining capacity in Xinjiang. Based upon both primary and secondary data, I first demonstrate how ethnic Uyghurs' low level of linguistic Sinicization tends to hamper ethnic Uyghur elites' capacity to build cross-ethnic political networks and more collusive, less hierarchical types of relationships with the majority elites. Then I proceed to demonstrate how ethnic Uyghurs' lack of social integration tends not only to exacerbate perceptions of ethnic Uyghurs by the PRC central state but also to translate into internally more differentiated, more polarized intra-ethnic socio-economic and cultural contour. Such a contour can obstruct upward social mobility encouraging ethnic Uyghur populace to identify with or to become themselves elites,

which in turn undermines intra-Uyghur cohesion and ethnic Uyghur elites' mobilizing capacity. I conclude the chapter by arguing that ethnic Uyghur elites' less solid relationships with both the central state and their co-ethnics, coupled with a less-than-positive image of ethnic Uyghurs in the eyes of the central state, have been jointly sufficient for under-representation of ethnic Uyghur elites in the XUAR state organs and their most powerful positions.

Chapter 5 examines in details the most recent trends in Tatar-Russian inter-ethnic boundary-makings and ethnic Tatar elites' bargaining capacity in Tatarstan. Based upon both primary and secondary data, I first demonstrate how ethnic Tatars' high level of linguistic Russification tends to promote ethnic Tatar elites' capacity to build cross-ethnic political networks and more collusive, less hierarchical types of relationships with the majority elites. Then I demonstrate how ethnic Tatars' more solid social integration tends not only to cultivate positive perceptions of ethnic Tatars by the RF central state but also to translate into internally less differentiated, less polarized intra-ethnic socio-economic and cultural contour. Such a contour is conducive to upward social mobility encouraging ethnic Tatar populace to identify with or to become themselves elites, which in turn contributes to intra-Tatar cohesion and ethnic Tatar elites' mobilizing capacity. I conclude the chapter by arguing that ethnic Tatar elites' more solid relationships with both the central state and their co-ethnics, coupled with a positive image of ethnic Tatars in the eyes of the central state, have been jointly sufficient for heightened representation of ethnic Tatar elites in the RT state organs and their most powerful positions.

The first part of Chapter 6 discusses institutional constraints and opportunities upon titular elites' bargaining capacity in terms of the two condition variables that vary at the

national level, i.e. formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations, focused upon ethno-federalism in Russia and Leninist party-state relations in China. The second part tests whether the argument can travel to the study of other ethno-regions in China and Russia. I succinctly evaluate the applicability of my argument to explaining the autonomy outcomes in Inner Mongolia and Tibet of China as well as in Bashkortostan and Yakutia of Russia.

In *Conclusion*, I first recapitulate my empirical findings and theoretical arguments. Then I revisit the caveats laid out in Chapter 2 and delineate an agenda for future research on the issue of endogeneity between autonomy outcomes and inter-ethnic boundary-makings. Towards the end of the dissertation, I summarily consider the policy implications of my argument. I argue that, by means of effectively building the capacity to exercise ethnic territorially-based autonomy, it is possible to strike the balance between distinct, institutionalized ethnic identities and a multi-ethnic state's territorial integrity.

2. SITUATING THE ARGUMENT IN THE EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP

This chapter situates my argument and analytical framework in the existing literature.

The first two sections trace the conceptual origin in the existing scholarship of such key concepts as ethnicity, ethnic minority and ethnic majority, ethnic institutions, and ethnic territorially-based autonomy as a type of ethnic institution, while delineating how I conceptualize these key concepts in relation to the existing literature. The third section critically and comparatively assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the alternative approaches found in the existing literature to explaining differing autonomy outcomes.

This section addresses the questions as regard why those approaches may not adequately be suitable. The last section introduces in detail a set of assumptions and qualifications for my proposed analytical framework, which I argue that, by synthesizing existing approaches, may possess greater explanatory potential.

ETHNICITY, ETHNIC MAJORITY, ETHNIC MINORITIES, ETHNIC INSTITUTIONS

Ethnicity and its change

Ethnic territorially-base autonomy is first and foremost “ethnic.” What is unique about ethnically-based cleavages? How have “ethnicity” and changes of ethnic identities been

conceptualized in the existing literature on ethnic politics? How is “ethnicity” conceptualized for the dissertation?

Kanchan Chandra classifies existing conceptions of “ethnicity” into two camps, i.e. primordialist and constructivist paradigms (2009, 379; 2012, 19). The primordialist paradigm is characterized by three fundamental assumptions: individuals have a single ethnic identity; this ethnic identity is fixed; this ethnic identity is exogenous to social processes (19). By contrast, constructivist paradigm consists of three counter-assumptions: individuals have multiple (levels of) ethnic identities; these identities, though usually stable, can change; such changes are endogenous to social processes (19).

A further disaggregated summary of existing conceptions of “ethnicity” comes from Katherine P. Kaup (2000). She compares and contrasts four “approaches”, primordial, instrumental, structural, and hegemonic ones (16). Similar to Chandra’s summarization, Kaup’s “primordialist” approach views ethnic identity as emanating from something predetermined and exogenous to social processes, whereas the rest of the approaches largely can all be subsumed under Chandra’s constructivist paradigm. Specifically, the “instrumental” approach reckons “ethnicity” as product of instrumental rationality and utilized as means to various political or economic ends (17-18). Meanwhile, the “structural” approach tends to emphasize the socialized processes of identity formation. Exemplified by Benedict Anderson and Karl Deutsch, it sees ethnic identity as contingent upon “changing cultural environments and communication networks” (19) that allows for new modes of “political imagining” (19). Her fourth approach, the “hegemonic” one, attributes the salience of ethnicity to the agency of certain institutionally defined actors,

especially of the state *sui generis* in its imposing of ethnic categories upon the population it rules.

Like Chandra, Henry Hale also organizes existing literature on ethnicity into two camps. Of them, the “ethnicity-as-conflictual” (Hale 2008, 58) approach holds the assumption that ethnicity inherently reflects motivations that tend to put groups in conflict, while the “ethnicity-as-epiphenomenal” (60) approach tends to reject the notion that ethnicity possesses its own intrinsic value and to view both ethnicity and ethnic politics as functions of other pursuits. As opposed to the foregoing two paradigms, Hale introduces his alternative “ethnicity-as-relational” (56) approach, according to which an individual’s “ethnicity” is defined in relation to the social world. In this conceptualization, ethnicity is posited as a cognitive device for both the understanding of the social world and uncertainty reduction. On such a basis, Hale defines “ethnic group” as “a set of people” (47) who have a common point of reference, or category³³, to at least one ethnic dimension of the social world, share the view that they indeed have this in common, and capture this similarity at least in the ethnic group’s name (47). In the same sense, “ethnicity” refers to the “corresponding subset” (47) of the “ethnic points of reference that define any given individual” (47). Such “ethnic” points of reference are usually visible/or relatively unchangeable (29).

Nevertheless, the “ethnicity-as-cognitive-device” conceptualization of ethnicity does not make it explicit what distinguishes the “ethnic” dimension of the social world from other

³³ According to Henry Hale, such categories can be distinguished by the following four properties: 1) associated with a sense of commonality of fate; 2) with intrinsic importance, especially those involving barriers to communications; 3) able to serve as rules of thumb for interpreting and guiding social interaction; 4) able to serve as rules of thumb for uncertainty reduction (2008, 41).

dimensions, or rather, what can be the source of “visibility” or “stability” of ethnic traits. Nor does it address the question as regards how such points of reference can change. In these regards, scholars like Donald Horowitz and Kanchan Chandra believe that some element is uniquely characterizing “ethnically-based” identities. For instance, according to Donald Horowitz, ethnicity is based on “a myth of collective ancestry” (1985, 52) and usually associated with traits perceived as “innate” (52). Moreover, ethnicity is by nature sustained by “strong family ties”³⁴ (61). Resonant with Horowitz, Kanchan Chandra emphasizes “descent-based attributes” (2009, 377). What distinguishes Chandra’s conception from Horowitz’s is her strictly defining ethnicity as “categories”, defined by attribute-values and attribute-dimensions (2012, 19).

Specifically, she defines ethnicity as “arbitrary subset of categories in which descent-based attributes are necessary for membership” (Chandra 2009, 377). Such attributes provide the source of two of what she calls “intrinsic properties” associable with ethnic identities, i.e. “constrained change” (or “stickiness”) and “visibility” (378). As she argues, whether analyzed as independent or dependent variables, stickiness (401) and visibility are two of the properties³⁵ unique to ethnicity that may enable the construction of causal links between ethnicity and other variables (409).

Although such “descent-based” attributes tend to be visible and sticky, ethnic categories, according to Chandra, can change. Appropriating theories from combinatorics, she captures the mechanism of changes in ethnic categories by looking at how the following

³⁴ For example, in Tatar, the noun *tugan* (meaning “relative”) is constantly used by ethnic Tatars to address fellow ethnic Tatars (co-ethnics).

³⁵ Probably in the same order of what David Waldner calls “invariant causal properties” actualized by causal mechanisms (2012, 67).

three types of components interact with one another: categories, attribute-values, and attribute-dimensions. A category³⁶ is a classificatory tool consisting of a specific combination of attribute-value(s) on certain attribute-dimension(s) according to which membership in a set of people is assigned to individuals (2012, 19). Attribute-dimensions are families of cultural markers consisting of either ordered (e.g. castes) or unordered categorical units (e.g. languages), while attribute-values are mutually exclusive (19) categorical units of a family of cultural markers (e.g. Ismai'li Muslim, Tibetan Buddhist, Syriac Christian, etc. in the dimension of "religious affiliation").

Ethnic categories, regardless of those used by the state or those used by non-state actors, may change when the combination of attribute-dimensions and attribute-values behind a category changes³⁷, the repertoire of attribute-dimensions and attribute-values held constant. They may also change when the very repertoire changes due to either new attribute-dimension(s) added or previous attribute-dimension(s) eliminated³⁸, or due to either new attribute-value(s) added³⁹ to or previous attribute-value(s) eliminated from a dimension, or due to a combination of both (26).

As opposed to Chandra's constructivist paradigm, the primordialist paradigm usually is associated with the assumption that an ethnic category automatically represents and is

³⁶ Examples of "categories": ethnic Udmurt, Russian, Tatar, Ukrainian, Jew in Udmurtia, Russia; ethnic Hui, Han, Dongxiang, Bonan, Salar in Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province, China.

³⁷ For example, the merging of "Mishar" (Kipchak Turkic-speakers found to both the west and the east of what was the Kazan Khanate), "Teptiar" (Kipchak Turkic-speakers found to the east of what was the Kazan Khanate), "Kerāshen" (Tatar-speaking Orthodox Christians) into "Tatars" and the dichotomization of "Bashkirs" (Kipchak Turkic-speaking tribally-based landed class, historically associated with the Nogai Horde while found between what was the Kazan Khanate and the Siberian Khanate) versus "Tatars" in the early decades of the USSR.

³⁸ For example, "Qumulluq" (Turkic-speakers in what is today's Yizhou District of Hami Municipality, XUAR, China) became "Uyghurs" as a result of the attribute-dimension of "place of origin" dropped.

³⁹ The separation of "Pakistani immigrants" from "Indian immigrants" as a result of a new value "Pakistan" added to the dimension of "country of origin."

conceptually co-extensive with collective consciousness and clear-cut boundaries of an ethnic group. This assumption has been vehemently critiqued in Rogers Brubaker's (2004) discussion of how ethnic groups can be socially constructed. Instead of assuming that an ethnic category always implies an internally homogeneous, externally bounded ethnic group, which are more often than not treated as fundamental units of analysis (8), Brubaker suggests the need to investigate the processes in which agents contrive to bound groups up with regard to shared ethnic categories. He refers to such processes as "group-making" (13), a social, cultural, and political project intended for "transforming categories into groups or increasing levels of groupness" (13). In this regard, he proposes three clusters of concepts with which to disaggregate the connotation of the overloaded term "(ethnic) identity":

The *processes of identification or categorization*, which place emphasis upon specifying the agents that do the identifying. Such identifying does not necessarily result in the internal homogeneity and the external boundedness of groups. The agents of identification can be either oneself or others, wherein self-identification and identification by others proceed in dialectical interplays (41). Two distinct types of identification are mentioned by Brubaker: formalized, codified, objectified systems of categorization developed and maintained by such powerful, authoritative institutions as the state (42) and psychodynamic identification that entails "identifying oneself emotionally with another person, category, collectivity" (44).

The cognitive device framing *self-understanding* and *social location*, pertaining to the ways individual and collective actions can be governed by particularistic understandings of self and social location rather than by putatively universal, structurally determined

interests (44). If the processes of identification and categorization are related to borders between “self” and “others,” then self-understanding and social location can be related to order or hierarchy on which “self” and “others” are arranged.

Leaping across the levels of analysis from individual to group, collective identities are contingent upon the notions of *commonality*, *connectedness*, and *groupness*. A collective identity is an emotionally-laden sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded group, connoting both a felt solidarity with co-ethnics and a felt difference from or even antipathy to specified outsiders (46). Commonality is about the sharing of some common attribute, while connectedness is said of the relational ties linking people. Commonality and connectedness are jointly sufficient for developing *groupness*, which refers to the feeling of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group (47).

To avoid falling into the trap of reification, which Brubaker defines as uncritically adopting categories of ethno-political practices as categories of analysis (10), I subscribe to Brubaker’s “ethnicity-without-group” (2004) conception of ethnic identities while incorporating elements from Hale’s “ethnicity-as-cognitive-device” and Chandra’s “ethnicity-as-categories” approaches. In this sense, my conceptualization of ethnicity does not imply groupness behind specific ethnic categories. Concretely, I define ethnicity as *categories developed in the processes of either self-identifications or identification by other agents, distinguished by descent-based attributes, characterized by varying degrees of stickiness and visibility, while providing shared cognitive points of reference to the social world*. By “descent-based attributes,” I am not saying that an ethnic category is or must be associated with certain family lines imagined as fixed and transmitted from time

immemorial. I am simply saying that parents transmit or are supposed to transmit their assumed ethnic categories in the contemporary repertoire to their children.

Ethnic majority versus ethnic minorities

Ethnic territorially-based autonomous entities are by definition designated for “ethnic minorities.” Then who are ethnic minorities? Who are ethnic majorities? This section addresses the following questions: How has the dichotomy between majority and minority been conceptualized in the existing literature? How are they conceptualized for the dissertation?

According to Andreas Wimmer, “ethnic majority” and “ethnic minority” are two types of ethnic categories. In line with Brubaker’s “ethnicity-without-group” approach, Wimmer argues that the distinction between majority and minorities emerges not because ethnic “minorities” try to maintain a pre-existing separate identity, culture, and community from ethnic “majorities” (2013b, 27) but rather because the groupness of both minorities and majorities is actuated by means of drawing and contesting the boundaries between them. Such boundary-making processes are often associated with power struggles with regard to the state and feature simultaneously social closures and social openings (27). Two modes of ethnic boundary-making can spawn and sustain the distinction between majority and minority, i.e. nation-building and ethnogenesis (50-53), contingent upon the state’s agency.

In the “nation-building” mode, state-building elites can elevate an existing ethnic category to the level of a “nation” by incorporating other ethnic categories (e.g. Turkey),

can construct a new national category by amalgamating a variety of ethnic categories (e.g. mestizo in Mexico), or can emphasize a higher level of overarching category while retaining pre-existing ethnic categories (e.g. the *sovietskii narod*, or Soviet nation, in the USSR, the *zhonghua minzu*, or Chinese nation, in China) (50-52). The “ethnogenesis” mode is intended to conceptually capture elites’ agency in terms of separating minorities from the majority. The bounding of majorities, however inclusive it might seem, can rarely reach an all-encompassing level, and state-building elites often categorize those whom they perceive as either too “alien” or “politically unreliable for incorporation” as “minorities” (52). The creation of minority categories often entails a process in which certain categories are merged into “larger” categories⁴⁰ (53), and such expanded categories of “minority” may be inscribed in the administrative routines of the state and be accepted gradually by minority individuals themselves (53).

Of a similar vein, Harris Mylonas also points to the central agency of the state in the creation of the majority-minority dichotomy. His notion of the “ruling political elites”, who, in control of the state, possess the military and administrative capacity to enforce its decisions within the territory of a state (2012, 23), can be viewed as synonymous with Wimmer’s notion of the “state-building elites” (2013b). According to Mylonas, the dominant sections of such elites (2012, 23-24) play the crucial role of determining who are members of the “core group” and who are members of the “non-core group.” A “core group” is defined if there are inhabitants of a country who share a common national type in whose name the ruling political elites can govern the state (23-24), whether

⁴⁰ For instance, the merging of Mishar, Teptiar, some Bashkirs into “Tatars” in the BASSR of the Soviet Union, the merging of Khorchin, Kharchin, Chakhar, Tümet, Khalkha, Ordos, Bargu, Urad, some Han, some Xibe, etc. into “Mongols” in the NMAR of China.

demographically such a “core group” constitutes a majority or a minority of the state’s population (24). A “non-core group” is an aggregation of individuals perceived by the ruling political elites as “unassimilated” in terms of languages, religions, phenotypical or cultural attributes (26). Overall, by using the core/non-core dichotomy, Mylonas conceives of the majority-minority distinction strictly in a political sense in terms of their relations to the state rather than in a demographic sense. In this regard, he shares with Wimmer the understanding that state categorizes and reifies majority and minorities.

Once the distinction between majorities and minorities has gradually become a social reality, the focus of boundary-making processes will shift to the challenging or maintaining of the dichotomous distinction. In such processes, the agency of the elite and masses of both minorities and majority also comes to the fore. According to Valerie Bunce and Stephen Watts, majorities are those who tend to interpret the idea of nation-state in such a way that each state should be inhabited by only one nation coterminous with the territorial boundary of the state (2005, 134). By this definition, representatives of the majorities tend to promote the homogenization of the population in their own image (134), resulting often in the psychological alienation of minorities (134). Such alienation can be expressed in terms of minorities interpreting the idea of nation-state in such a way that each nation is entitled to its own state (134). In this sense, majorities may contrive for a nation co-extensive with the existing state, whereas minorities may call for a state representing their ethno-national aspirations and corresponding to the perceived territory of their ethnic homelands. These two countervailing modes of interpretation correspond largely to two macro-processes, assimilation and differentiation, as Donald Horowitz summarizes (1985, 67). Nevertheless, it may not be surprising if both processes of

assimilation and differentiation can be empirically observed in majorities and minorities alike, since “semiotic communities” (Wedeen 2002, 722) may never become completely bounded.

In this sense, the majority-minority lines that certain non-state actors (e.g. counter-elites, activists, intellectuals, organizations) perceive and try to draw may not necessarily coincide empirically with the lines drawn by the state. Fully aware of the contested boundaries between ethnic majorities and minorities, I define a state’s ethnic majority and minorities as *merely categories* and refer to *the state’s official schemes of categorization to determine who are assigned with which categories*. Although individuals sharing such categories constitute separate populations, I do not assume groupness as implicit behind a category. Instead, I problematize how elite and masses of ethnic majority and ethnic minorities challenge or maintain the boundaries set initially by the state as well as how patterns of boundary-making may vary across pairs⁴¹ of majority-minority distinctions, across different ethno-regions.

For the contexts of China and Russia, I subscribe to state-defined categories and use state-generated census data tabulated along these categories for the following considerations. First, while admitting that these categories were constructed to render more legible the ethnically, linguistically, and culturally perceivedly heterogenous populations, they were formulated and adopted also in consultation with ethno-nationally-minded elites who tended to emphasize inter-ethnic distinctions while claiming to be representing various “ethnic minorities.” In other words, state-defined

⁴¹ How the inter-ethnic boundaries between the multi-ethnic state’s majority category and an ethno-region’s titular minority category have been maintained or challenged.

categories were not simply imposed ones but rather products of elite-level negotiations⁴². Second, ethnic territorially-based autonomy arrangements are designated for specific state-defined ethnic categories, and the overlapping of ethnically-based categories with territorially-based categories can create a sense of “being titular” among individuals of an ethno-region’s titular categorie(s). This can in turn reinforce acceptance and consciousness of state-defined categories among the categorized populations. Third, affirmative action programs or other preferential treatments by the state can encourage individuals, especially those undecided about whether to register with the majority category or a minority category, to align with state-defined minority categories. This in turn contributes to constructing a milieu where state-defined categories start being taken for granted and where individuals themselves start actively reproducing these categories. Fourth, in China and Russia, individuals in general register their ethnic categories based upon their self-identifications. Options are open for them to shift across categories, either within the state-defined repertoire of ethnic categories or allowing the registration of a category outside the state-defined repertoire (e.g. a self-reported category in Russia or a yet-to-be-classified category in China⁴³).

State and institutionalized ethnicity

If the state plays the central role in categorizing majority and minorities, how does the state strive to maintain the binary distinctions within the population it rules? Rogers

⁴² For instance, the dichotomization of “Bashkir” versus “Tatar” by Bolsheviks in the 1910s and 1920s in response to elites claiming to represent “Bashkirs” or “Tatars.” The separation of “Daur” from “Mongol” by CCP in the 1950s in response to elites claiming to represent “Daur.”

⁴³ For instance, “Bulgar”, “Astrakhan Tatar”, “Mosuo”, “Sherpa”, “Deng”, etc.

Brubaker would invite us to examine how state institutionalizes its monopoly on the use of legitimate symbolic force (2004, 42). This section addresses the following questions: How have ethnic institutions been conceptualized in the existing literature? How are they conceptualized for the dissertation?

The state's "legitimate symbolic force" refers to the power and resources with which to formally name, to formally identify, to formally categorize, and to formally state what is what and who is who (42). The state imposes the "modes of social counting and accounting" (42) to which various state and non-state actors must refer. Such modes include official censuses that tabulate the population across categories and a variety of institutions that sort out individuals in relation to the categories. One of such categories, according to Brubaker, is ethnic category, as he views the "national struggle" in the former Soviet Union as "the struggle of institutionally constituted (ethno-)national elites" (1994, 48).

Dmitry Gorenburg introduces the concept of "ethnic institutions" (2003) to account for the variations in terms of ethnic mobilization in the final years of the Soviet Union and the initial years of the post-Soviet Russian Federation. To elaborate, Gorenburg conceives of "ethnic institutions" as conduct-structuring formal and informal organizations, rules, or procedures "established to oversee a state's interactions with ethnic groups living on its territory" (3). In the context of the former Soviet Union, components of such institutions can include, but may not necessarily be confined to, territorial homelands for ethnic minorities, tiered ethno-federal territorial hierarchy, ethnic-language education, academic and cultural institutes, official ethnic categories for

censuses and identity papers, affirmative action programs for ethnic minorities, titular representation at the ethno-regional government (3, 258), and so forth.

What Gorenburg's "ethnic institutions" connote largely overlaps with the connotation of Şener Aktürk's concept of "ethnicity regimes" (2011, 118). Such regimes refer to the formal institutional orders associated with how the state categorizes its population in ethnically-couched terms as well as how the state contrives to manage the use of ethnic symbols among the population. He disaggregates "ethnicity regimes" on two dimensions, i.e. "membership" and "expression" (118-119). "Membership" pertains to whether the citizenship as defined by the relevant state authority is restricted to people of certain ethnic categories or not. This dimension reflects the desired ethnic contours of the nation the relevant state authority strives to build. The other dimension, "expression," revolves around the relevant state's attitude towards both the official categorization and self-expression of ethnic diversity among its population. According to the different values taken on the two dimensions, regimes of ethnicity can largely be classified into three types, mono-ethnic (citizenship restricted ethnically), anti-ethnic (official recognition and self-expression of ethnic categories disallowed), and multi-ethnic (citizenship not restricted ethnically while the state actively regulating official recognition and self-expression of ethnic categories, 118-119).

To operationalize the concept of "ethnicity regimes," Aktürk further breaks down the membership dimension into three questions: is citizenship restricted to only one ethnic group? is there ethnic-priority immigration? are there officially codified ethnic minorities? (121) Likewise, the expression dimension is disaggregated into the following sub-dimensions: recognition of more than one ethnicity in the constitution, census, and

key official documents, ethnic territorially based autonomy (121) or ethnic federalism (123), multiple official languages, and ethnically-based affirmative action (121).

Nevertheless, with regard to the “ethnic territorially-based autonomy or ethnic federalism” sub-dimension, Aktürk stops short of further conceptual clarification, apparently lumping “ethnic territorially-based autonomy” and “ethno-federalism” together without making the distinction between these two types of institutional arrangements. If “territorial autonomy” refers to how specific regional governments relate to the central state, then “federalism” may speak of how the collectivity of all the regional governments relate to the central state in general. Empirically, “ethnic territorially-based autonomy” and “ethno-federalism” may not always come in pairs. China and Italy may provide two of the examples in which “ethnic territorially-based autonomy” has been designated for certain minorities (e.g. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in China, Autonomous Province of Bolzano and South Tyrol in Italy), but the state is unitarily organized rather than federated. In this regard, my conceptualization of ethnic institutions will be based upon both Gorenburg’s and Aktürk’s but further categorize “multi-ethnic” states into two types, i.e. formally federal state and formally unitary state.

Accordingly, I define “ethnic institution(s)” as *any type(s) of formal institutional orders associated with either how the state categorizes its population in ethnically-couched terms or how the state contrives to manage the use of ethnic categories and symbols among its population*. Two dimensions and eleven sub-dimensions of ethnic institutions are summarized in the table below. The dimension of “category-defining institutions” refers to how the state defines the ethnic contour of itself, the population under its rule,

and citizenship eligibility. It consists of four sub-dimensions. The dimension of “category-managing institutions”, on the other hand, connotes how the state manages the use of ethnic categories and symbols in relation to the defined ethnic contours and consists of seven sub-dimensions. An “ethnicity regime” is an attribute of a given state, and I conceptualize a state’s type of “ethnicity regime” in terms of the combination of values taken on dimensions and sub-dimensions of ethnic institutions. Four ideal types of ethnicity regimes, federally multi-ethnic, unitarily multi-ethnic, mono-ethnic, and anti-ethnic ones, represent the varying degrees of receptivity among states towards ethnically-based categorization of population.

Table 2.1. Dimensions, sub-dimensions of ethnic institutions and types of ethnicity regimes

Dimensions of ethnic institutions	Sub-dimensions of ethnic institutions	Multi-ethnic regimes		Mono-ethnic regimes	Anti-ethnic regimes
		Formally federal	Formally unitary		
Category-defining institutions	State constitutionally defined as multi-ethnic or not	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Population officially categorized ethnically or not (e.g. in censuses)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Citizenship restricted to one ethnic category or not	No	No	Yes	No
	Immigration prioritizing	No ^a	No ^b	Yes	No ^c

	certain ethnic categories or not				
Category-managing institutions	Ethnicity indicated on governmentally-issued identification paper or not	Either	Either	No	No
	Ethnic territorially based autonomy designated for certain ethnic minorities or not	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Ethno-federalism or not	Yes	No	No	No
	Massive recruitment and trainings of ethnic-minority cadres or not	Yes	Yes	Either ^d (e.g. recruitment and trainings of cadres of immigrant minorities)	Either ^e (e.g. recruitment and trainings of cadres of religious minorities)
	More than one language accorded with official status at the subnational level or not	Yes	Yes	No	No
	State-sponsored institutions for the production and reproduction of ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols or not	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Ethnically-based affirmative action in practice or not	Yes	Yes	No	No

^{a b c} Descent-based *jus sanguinis* citizenship eligibility may apply, but such descent is usually defined in terms of former citizenship or ancestors having lived in the territory of the state rather than of ethnic categories (e.g. in China and Russia). Additional rules may apply, and the practices of immigration rules are more contingent.

^d Recruitment and trainings of cadres of immigrant minorities (e.g. in Germany).

^e Recruitment and trainings of cadres of religious minorities (e.g. in Turkey).

ETHNO-FEDERALISM AND ETHNIC TERRITORIALY-BASED AUTONOMY AS TYPES OF ETHNIC INSTITUTIONS

As types of ethnic institutions, how have ethnically and territorially-based autonomy and ethno-federalism been conceptualized in the existing literature? How are the two types of institutions conceptualized for the dissertation? This section addresses these questions.

Ethno-federalism

Donald Rothchild and Philip Roeder consider ethno-federalism as a type of formal power-sharing institutions (2005, 31). Such power-sharing institutions distribute decision-making rights within the state in terms of who are entitled to decision-makings and define decision-making procedures (30). In ethnically diverse societies, power-sharing institutions are intended to guarantee four modes of decision-makings: inclusive decision-making, partitioned decision-making, predetermined decisions, or some combination of these (30). Partitioned mode of decision-makings tends to decentralize the central-state's decision-making powers according to territorial divisions and policy realms while allocating such powers among mutually independent governmental agencies where elites of specific ethnic categories can have greater influence on decision-makings (33).

Ethnically-based allocation of executive and legislative posts constitutes an example of inclusive decision-makings, whereas ethno-federalism falls under the category of

partitioned decision-makings (31). Ethnic territorially-based autonomy is usually a component feature of ethno-federalism by assigning jurisdiction according to the principle of “territoriality”, which can be viewed as a proxy for ethnic categories (33). For instance, in the former Soviet Union, ethnically-defined territorial units were formally supposed to act in the name of eponymous ethnic populations, but in practice, as Rothchild and Roeder note, ethno-regional administrations tended to include not only titular elites⁴⁴, but also substantial non-titular elites. At times, non-titular elites could even make up the majority of the functionaries of ethno-regional states (33).

In addition to being a type of ethnic institutions, ethno-federalism is also a type of federations governing center-periphery relations. In this regard, Daniel Elazar makes the distinction between federations and federal arrangements: federations may refer to a “defined constitutional structure under which the state is divided into regions that assume different names in various countries” (Lapidoth 1997, 50), while federal arrangements may be said of a “form of political organization uniting separate polities within an overarching political system so that all maintain their fundamental political integrity” (50). According to how federations are originally crafted, three ideal types can be summarized, i.e. coming-together federations in which parts create the whole, holding-together federations in which the whole creates the parts through elite consensus, putting-together federations where the whole creates the parts by imposing will rather than through elite consensus (Keller and Smith 2005, 269). Nevertheless, it would not be surprising if the empirical picture of federation-creating seems to be rather a hybrid of these types. Particular to ethno-federalism, Henry Hale defines it as a “federal system of

⁴⁴ Elites of the titular ethnic category of the ethno-region.

government in which federal regions are invested with ethnic content” (2008, 64), and in such a system, regional administrative boundaries usually provide the crucial lines along which coordination occurs for issues of center-periphery relations (68).

Another type of partitioned decision-makings as opposed to ethno-federalism is ethno-corporatism⁴⁵. Such arrangements are not based upon territory, thus territories do not tend to become a semiotic equivalent to ethnic categories in ethno-corporatism, since the jurisdictions extend to members sharing the ethnic category alone and not to the entire population within a given territory (Rothchild and Roeder 2005, 33).

Valerie Bunce and Stephen Watts, in their study of the differing effects of ethno-federalism and unitary structure governing the formal relationship between the central state and various sub-national-level states upon inter-ethnic relations and democratic transition (2005, 135), characterize a unitary state with “indivisible sovereignty” (135). Meanwhile, they distinguish ethno-federalism in terms of the following attributes: territorially-defined subunits, dual sovereignty according to which the center and the subunits have both overlapping and separate spheres of responsibilities, a relationship between the center and the subunits combining autonomy and coordination unlike the subordination of subunits to the center in unitary structures, and most distinctively, many subunits inhabited by and imputed to represent geographically-concentrated ethnic minorities (135).

As regards arguments both favorable and unfavorable for the establishing of ethno-federal institutional design, proponents of ethno-federalism points to the benefits of

⁴⁵ An example of ethno-corporatist institutions can be separate school/education systems for different ethnic communities residing side by side in the same region (Rothchild and Roeder 2005, 34).

legitimizing difference and empowering ethnic minorities (136) inherent in ethno-federal design, where trust can be fostered, while ethnic minorities are provided with a stake in both the practice of democracy and the conduct of the state. Ethno-federalism also has the built-in potential of inhibiting the center from overly expanding its powers, and in this sense, it is conducive to countering two temptations: of minorities to defect and of majorities to dominate (136).

Opponents of ethno-federalism tend to emphasize the “fine line” (136) between legitimizing difference and undermining commonality. They argue, as summarized by Bunce and Watts, that ethno-federalism can lock in differences and identities by prompting ethnic categories, territories, and political power to overlap, which may not be conducive to the promotion of interaction and cooperation among ethnic communities (136). Ethno-federalism also runs the risk of constituting the resources and leadership with which for ethno-regions to press for independence from the central state (136), which can in turn stimulate the central-state to become paranoiac and to expand powers, resulting in a spiral of center-periphery power build-ups.

Bunce and Watts conclude that, in the post-Soviet contexts, when communist party hegemony and the state were dwindling, ethno-federal republics were more likely to feature growing conflicts between majority and minority populations than unitary republics (138). Even after these republics became independent states, ethno-federal states were more likely to be weak. However, adding a flavor of ethno-federal features to a unitary state is recommended, for it can improve strained majority-minority relations and facilitate democratic governance (138). Although unitary states can be institutionally more amenable, established ethno-federal states are not recommended to shift to unitary

system due to considerable institutional constraints (157-158). Overall, Bunce and Watts suggest that the effect of center-periphery institutional design upon governance hinges on three key issues: keeping ethnic minorities in the state, constraining ethnic majorities, and building a state capable of creating incentives for inter-ethnic cooperation and supports democratic governance (158).

Of a similar vein, Amit Ahuja and Ashutosh Varshney also investigate the effect of formal ethno-federal design upon stability and peace. They argue that three variables can condition such effect: how far the sense of nationhood has been cultivated before federal arrangements are formally negotiated and established, whether the ethnic structure of a state is bipolar⁴⁶ or multipolar⁴⁷, whether identities are cumulative or crosscutting (2005, 243). For instance, in the case of India, ethno-federal arrangements have demonstrated stabilizing effect, since a shared sense of nationhood has been fostered even predating India's independence, while the ethnic composition is multipolar, and attributes of ethnicity, language, religion, caste, and tribe (261) constitute competing dimensions of cleavages while not overlapping with one another. The unique combination of historical and structural endowments has been orienting the diverse population of India more towards integration than towards differentiation, thus distinguishing India's ethno-federalism as more stabilizing than disruptive.

Despite that Bunce and Watts' depiction of the outcome of ethno-federalism seems to contrast with that of Ahuja and Varshney, both pairs of scholars would agree on the understanding that the effectiveness of ethno-federalism is contingent upon largely

⁴⁶ Two major ethnic categories with other smaller ones. Populations of the two major categories tend to be concentrated territorially.

⁴⁷ Multiple ethnic categories without any of them constituting the majority.

structural factors. Such intervening variables can include history of center-periphery interaction (Amoretti 2004, 11), structural differences (e.g. economic, cultural, etc. 12), and international factors (13). What is also common to their studies are their treating of the dichotomy of ethno-federal versus unitary design as an independent variable and their assuming of groups behind categorical distinctions. In this manner, both pairs of scholars downplay the role of elites' agency in the very process of practicing ethno-federal institutions in their impact upon inter-ethnic relations and governance.

As an alternative, I construct formally ethno-federal versus unitary design of center-periphery relations *merely as a condition variable* rather than an independent variable. Moreover, institutional design of center-periphery relations cannot appropriately explain the differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions found in the same institutional context, that is, under the same multi-ethnic state. Integrating Henry Hale's (2014), Donald Rothchild and Philip Roeder's (2005), and Valerie Bunce and Stephen Watts' (2005) conception of ethno-federalism, I define ethno-federalism as *formal institutional design, often enshrined constitutionally, according to which the central-state and its constituent territorially-based administrative units share sovereignty and have both overlapping and separate spheres of jurisdictions, and in which at least one constituent unit is formally associated with a specific ethnic category.*

Ethnic territorially-based autonomy

Ethnic territorially-based autonomy, as a type of ethnic institutions, is a built-in feature of ethno-federalism, but it can also be found in unitarily multi-ethnic regimes. If "ethno-federalism" refers to how the central state relates to the collectivity of all the constituent

units, then “ethnic territorially-based autonomy” may connote how those individual constituent units that can be called “ethno-regions” relate to the central state.

Most of the existing conceptualizations of ethnic territorially-based autonomy tend to assume groupness behind ethnic categories, and the agents who are both entitled to and practicing “autonomy” are “ethnic minorities.” According to Hurst Hannum, “autonomy” entails the “right to be different and to be left alone, to preserve, protect, and promote values that are beyond the legitimate reach of the rest of the society” (2011), whereas Ruth Lapidoth defines “territorial political autonomy” as arrangement aimed at granting to a group a means by which it can express its distinct identity that differs from the majority of the population in the state and can constitute the majority in a specific region (1997, 33). Similarly, Yash Ghai views “autonomy” as a device to allow ethnic or other groups claiming a distinct identity to exercise direct control over affairs of special concern to them while allowing the larger entity those power which cover common interests (2000, 8), while Renat Shaykhutdinov defines “autonomy” as institutional arrangements that “allow ethnic groups to express their distinct identities while keeping the borders of host states intact” (2010, 179). Such arrangements usually feature bilaterally-approved legal covenant that formally demarcates the center-periphery relationships and fiscal/budgetary authority reserved for the autonomous region (179-180).

Conceptualization of “autonomy” can also be broader so as to be associated with concepts like “decentralization” or “federation.” According to Ruth Lapidoth, “autonomy” may be understood as a range of referents such as 1) right to act upon one’s own discretion in certain matters; 2) independence; 3) decentralization; 4) political entity

with exclusive powers of administration, legislation, and adjudication in specific areas enabling limited self-rule for minorities (1997, 33). If “autonomy” is understood not only as a device with which to strike the balance between assimilation and differentiation but also as requiring power-sharing between the national/central and the subnational/regional state authorities, the analytical category of “autonomy” may also imply decentralization in terms of center-periphery relations.

As regards how regional autonomy and decentralization may be conceptually related, Daniel Treisman argues that political decentralization may possess such merits as satisfying the moderate demands for autonomy of geographically concentrated ethnic minorities while also disincentivizing them from escalating their objective to outright secession, assisting ethnic minorities in terms of resisting discriminatory central policies by controlling subnational governments, and serving as a “training ground” for inter-ethnic cooperation and compromise (2007, 245). The mechanism linking decentralization of political power to increased local autonomy and mitigated ethnic conflicts consists in such a logic that ethnic conflict will be reduced by a measure of disengagement/separation, while ethnic harmony will be enhanced in a system in which territorially concentrated minorities are able to exercise autonomy on matters crucial to their distinct identity without fear of being overridden by the majority (238). In other words, ethnic territorially-based autonomy has normative value.

A possible way to summarize the existing modes of conceptualizing “autonomy” is to use the dichotomy between the nominal/formal conception of “autonomy” treating it as normative ideal/prescriptive institution and the practical/empirical conception of “autonomy” treating it as empirical fact/outcome. In this respect, existing literature tends

to conceptualize “autonomy” more as normative ideal or prescriptive category and usually subscribes to the binary framework of the presence of autonomous institutions versus its absence by treating it as a nominal variable (Siroky & Cuffe 2014; Cederman et al. 2015).

Despite that, some scholars do indicate that “autonomy” can also be analyzed in terms of its degree, or quantitatively. I start from Hurst Hannum and Richard Lillich’s understanding of autonomy as primarily determined “by the degree of actual and formal independence enjoyed by the autonomous entities in its political decision-making process” (Lapidoth 1997, 32). I also deviate from the tendency in the existing literature to assume groupness behind ethnic categories by emphasizing that the agents who exercise autonomy are ethno-regional states and those elites associated with them rather than ethnic minorities *per se*. In this regard, there tends to be a dearth of frameworks in the existing literature that discuss how to measure and to explain the varying degrees of actual autonomy outcome across ethno-regions.

To address this dearth, I analyze autonomy as a quantifiable response variable that can be measured in reference to the baseline set in the formal institutions of ethnic territorially-based autonomy, which I define as *territorially-based power-sharing arrangements distinguishing an ethno-regional state from the central-state, in which a specific territory is formally attached to and designated for a specific ethnic category, usually a minority category, and in which elites of that ethnic category are supposed to be adequately represented in the decision-makings in the ethno-regional state governing that territory.*

COMPETING EXPLANATIONS

It has become a truism that ethnic politics entail interactions between groups. However, are groups truly the appropriate agents in ethnic politics? According to how this question is answered, I compartmentalize the existing literature into three approaches, *groupness as exogenous*, *groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure*, and *groupness as endogenous to elite agency*. By “groupness,” I subscribe to Rogers Brubaker’s conceptualization of it as the sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group (2004, 47). According to this conception, groupness is variable and contingent rather than fixed and given (12), while actors involved in ethnic conflicts are in fact not ethnic groups but rather various kinds of organizations (14) and elites. In this section, I provide a critical assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the existing approaches to the study of ethnic politics in terms of their explanatory potential for cross-ethno-region comparison of actually exercised autonomy outcomes.

Groupness as exogenous

What characterizes the *groupness as exogenous* approach is the underlying assumption of groupness as exogenous and conceptually presupposed to the processes of ethnic politics. Examples of scholarly works following this approach tend to use what is common to different contexts of inter-ethnic politics to explain similar outcomes. Such commonality is predicated upon the following assumptions. First, the world is made up of ethnic groups. Second, each ethnic category inherently suggests behind it internally homogenous, externally bounded group consciousness. Third, such groupness is ancient and remains stable throughout the analysis of ethnic politics. Interestingly, this approach

also deviates slightly from a primordialist conception of ethnicity, as it does acknowledge that ethnic categories can change. It simply is not concerned with studying how group consciousness is historically and socially constructed or how ethnic categories can change. Meanwhile, it also tends to treat groupness as an independent variable or an antecedent condition.

A quintessential example of scholarly works that assume internally homogenous, externally bounded group consciousness behind an ethnic category as a pre-existing condition can be Enze Han's comparative case studies of five ethnic minorities in China explaining why some of them have been politically more challenging of the existing ethnicity regimes than others (2013). Nicholas Sambanis and Branko Milanovic's (2014) examination of the correlation between political autonomy of a sub-national-level region and its economic power can be another example, wherein regions, ethnic groups, and ethnic categories are implicitly assumed as mutually synonymous concepts. Based upon their statistical analysis of the data collected from sub-national-level regions in 48 countries (10), they argue that a region's "policy autonomy" tends to be positively correlated to relative regional income, a region's interpersonal income inequality, and its ethnic distinctiveness (20). The scope condition of their study is so broad as to include not only ethno-regions but also administrative units without formal autonomy designated.

Sambanis and Milanovic's study pioneers in terms of measuring a region's level of actually-exercised autonomy by employing the "share of regional expenditures that can be financed out of regional revenues" (11) as a proxy for policy autonomy. Obviously, such an economically-based conception of a region's implemented autonomy outcome is reliant upon the assumption that regional-level state financial self-sufficiency is a

sufficient condition for political autonomy. However, formal institutional constraints may also need to be taken into account, since certain regions with relatively high level of financial self-sufficiency can be vested with quite limited formal political autonomy (e.g. the Southeastern coastal provinces in China). Moreover, financial self-sufficiency tends to be no more than a component aspect of actually-exercised autonomy of a region, especially if inter-budgetary revenue redistribution is also considered, since the ability to procure more financial transfers from the central-state can also be suggestive of a region's level of political autonomy.

In addition, Sambanis and Milanovic's use of relative regional income as an independent variable to account for the political autonomy of regions is also problematic, especially if we conceptualize regional income level as another component aspect of a region's autonomy outcome rather than its cause. Two of the other explanatory variables they use and find significantly correlated to regional autonomy outcomes are a region's levels of ethnic distinctiveness as well as interpersonal economic inequality. A region is counted as ethnically more distinct if most of its inhabitants share a specific ethnic category and most of those of that category live in that region (15). It is posited that the more ethnically distinct and the more economically unequal a region, the more likely for it to be more autonomous (20). Nevertheless, the empirical records of Xinjiang and Tatarstan point to the negation of the claim, as Xinjiang tends to ethnically more distinct and economically more unequal than Tatarstan while not actually being more autonomous than Tatarstan.

In Ted Gurr's exploration of why individuals may engage in ethno-political actions, groupness is also implicitly assumed behind ethnic categories. Boundaries between

groups are supposed to be an unchanging given. He argues that the “root cause” of ethnic conflicts is the perception of comparative disadvantage among members of different “ethnic groups” (2000). According to his “etiology of ethno-political conflict” (65-95), salience of ethnic identity and shared incentives are necessary conditions for ethno-political actions to occur, while together with group capacity and domestic opportunities, they are conditions jointly sufficient for ethno-political actions to emerge. This “etiology” strives to delineate an explanatory framework as comprehensive as possible, and inevitably, it appears cumbersome and suffers from a lack of parsimony. Moreover, the framework does not address the question as regards the source of perceived group-level comparative advantages.

That question is centrally addressed in Donald Horowitz’s positional group psychology theory. He argues that source of ethnic conflicts primarily resides in the psychology of group juxtapositions that often involve the “emotional concomitant of group traits and interactions” (1985, 181-182). Such juxtapositions can give rise to the feeling of antipathy, all the more since imputed traits characterizing groups are usually arrayed on a backward-advanced dichotomy. Resulting from such a dichotomy, a polarity-style of intergroup relations rather than a plurality-style often emerges (182). Horowitz notes that group-level psychological processes are distinct from individual-level processes due to collective elements at work in intergroup psychology. Consequently, groups situated in a similar position on the backward-advanced dichotomy, as Horowitz asserts, would respond similarly despite differing socio-political contexts (184).

Then can it be contended that as long as there are juxtapositions of groups, conflicts will inevitably occur? Ashutosh Varshney differs (2003). He notes that ethnic heterogeneity

alone is not sufficient for conflicts to occur unless power relations of dominance, either physical or discursive, are present, where subordination or differentiated worth are built into inter-ethnic interactions (86). Concept-wise, he makes the distinction between nationalism of exclusion and nationalism of resistance. According to the former conception of nation, the dominant group within a society either seeks to impose its own values on other groups within that society or seeks to exclude, at times violently, other groups from access to the state (86). Meanwhile, the latter conception of nation speaks of a dominated group opposing exclusions and seeking to preserve its cultural identity and resist the hegemony of the dominant group (86). Varshney also distinguishes instrumental rationality, which refers to changing means or altering ends according to cost-benefit calculations (87) from value rationality, which is related to the pursuit of dignity and self-respect in contexts either structurally or discursive hierarchical. Value rationality pertains to a conscious “ethical, esthetic, religious or other belief” independent of its prospect of success (86) and constitutes, as he contends, the micro-foundations for ethnically-based mobilization of a critical mass by the intermediary of historically inherited attitudes and power relations among groups (93). In this sense, Varshney argues that origins of ethnic mobilization tend to be value-rational (86), but its sustenance (95) can be more strategic and instrumental.

Varshney’s proposed concepts of “nationalism of resistance” and “value rationality” possess considerable explanatory power in comparing contexts in which both perceived inter-group physical or discursive hierarchy and ethnic mobilization are present with contexts in which inter-group relations are more symmetric and ethnic mobilization is largely absent. Nevertheless, these concepts presuppose clearly defined ethnic

communities. Then why do ethnic mobilizations tend to emerge empirically at certain historical junctures rather than others? Why has the critical mass been more easily reached in certain contexts than in others? Why do only certain individuals decide to participate in highly risky, contentious activities, while most of the time, the majority of the masses do not? These questions are not adequately addressed in Varshney's value-rationality-based, groupness-as-exogenous approach to the study of ethnic mobilization.

To sum up, the explanatory factors proposed in the *groupness as exogenous* approach such as comparative disadvantage (Gurr 2000), positional group psychology (Horowitz 1985), value rationality (Varshney 2003) and so forth, all tend to uncover common characteristics to various contexts of inter-ethnic relations in order to explain similar outcomes. In other words, useful as the approach is, these factors are not varying significantly across ethno-regions in China and Russia, which all feature ethnically-based group-making and inter-group dynamics, and thus not able to adequately account for differing autonomy outcomes.

Groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure

The *groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure* approach predicates itself upon the assumption that groups are processual products of social interactions (Gagnon 2004, 13). Conceptually, group consciousness is problematized, and frameworks that can be classified into this approach usually discuss the following question: how can group consciousness emanate from and be shaped by historically-determined structural factors? Depending on the type of such structural factors, frameworks that can be classified into this approach can largely be grouped into three

sub-approaches: *groupness as endogenous to institutions* approach that views group consciousness as constituted by state institutions, *groupness as endogenous to interactions between institutionally defined actors* approach that posits group consciousness as coagulating at specific junctures of strategic interactions, and *groupness as endogenous to group-making processes*. This macro-approach tends to treat groupness as a dependent variable.

Groupness as endogenous to institutions

The fundamental assumption of this sub-approach posits that the ways group consciousness form are defined and constituted by institutions, of which ethnic categorization is among the most consequential. Institutions hereby can connote conduct-structuring formal and informal organizations, rules, or procedures (Gorenburg 2003, 3) that constrain or shape group-makings.

Intended to challenge elite-centric explanations for nationalist mobilization among ethnic minorities, Dmitry Gorenburg proposes his institutionalist explanation. Applying an analytical framework abducted from the empirical evidence in four ethno-regions of the Russian Federation, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, and Khakassia, he argues that “ethnic institutions” may shape the preferences and tactics of cultural elites (such as intellectuals and students, 2003, 2, as opposed to political elites, 2003, 3) usually found pivotal in the emergence (7) of ethno-nationalist movements. Such institutions may also condition the ways cultural elites convince the populace of sustaining their support of the movements (3) as well as the capacity of such cultural elites’ persuasive attempts to “resonate with the values and beliefs of potential followers” (3). Moreover, institutions

were also critical in creating the social ties and networks of communication through which the nationalist message was spread and new activists were recruited (3).

To account for the cross-case variations in terms of the ways ethno-national mobilizations emerge and develop, Gorenburg concludes that state institutions structure the interactions between political elites and the rest of the population by influencing the sources from which nationalist appeals emerged, the forms nationalist movements took, and the reactions of both the elites and the masses to nationalism (3). For instance, such movements' trajectories in their later stages is contingent upon the political opportunity structures fashioned in their early stages (260): in ethno-regions where ethno-nationalists gained influence in government, movements tend to transform into interest group organizations shifting their focus to lobbying; in ethno-regions where access to government was blocked but electoral competition was open, movements tend to turn into political parties aimed at accessing power through elections; in ethno-regions where neither access to government nor electoral competition is available, movements turn themselves into grass-roots organizations engaged in regular public protests against the government (260).

This sub-approach has the merit of using institutional opportunities and constraints as condition variables for elite agency. Nonetheless, it tends to subscribe to a generative model of structure and an over-socialized conception of agency (Mahoney and Snyder 1999, 5-6) thus downplays elite agency. Last but not least, institutional opportunities and constraints would wield little explanatory power if they are not varying across those ethno-regions with similar ethnic institutions.

Groupness as endogenous to interactions between institutionally defined actors

This sub-approach focuses upon interactive dynamics between groups, groups and state in terms of how group consciousness forms according to mutual perceptions of relevant actors. Such actors are defined and constituted by ethnic institutions. Meanwhile, this approach is also characterized by the conception of ethnicity as a cognitive device.

According to this conception, ethnicities can refer to perspectives of perceiving, interpreting, and representing the social world, which can encompass ethnically-oriented frames, schemas, narratives, situational cues, systems of classification/categorization/identification, taken-for-granted knowledge embedded in institutionalized routines and practices, etc. (Brubaker 2004, 17). Through the frameworks of such perspectives, objects, places, actions, situations can be recognized and experienced ethnically (17). Common to studies following this approach, group consciousness emerges according to how elite and non-elite actors' frame and interpret at certain junctures their own position in the social world vis-à-vis the state and other actors in ethnically categorical terms. I further divide the sub-approach into two camps, one represented by Mark Beissinger, David Lake & Donald Rothchild and focused upon dynamics between ethnically-defined social forces, the other represented by Henry Hale and Erin Jenne and focused upon ethnic secessions.

Mark Beissinger, in his investigation of the processes in which nationalist mobilizations led to the downfall of the once-powerful Soviet Union (2002), depicts a picture of events unfolding in certain ethno-regions creating contingencies for events elsewhere. For example, challenging events started from the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and spread to the Caucasian republics of Georgia, Armenia, to Ukraine, and

eventually to Volga-Ural republics of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. According to Beissinger, events are critical categories to study, because they are “sites” where we would expect to see most visibly the impact of structural influences on nationalism (21). The spectacle-like quality of the event makes it an important site of cultural transaction at which national identities are potentially formed (22), whereas the outcome of the contention is strongly constitutive of identities (23). Group-making processes are marked with what Beissinger calls “punctuated and irregular plebiscites” (25), whose group consciousness is strongly shaped by the cumulating of events.

Beissinger focuses upon how acts challenging existing ethnic institutions were clustered temporally and spatially as well as how they were linked sequentially to one another across time and space (17). He argues that linkages and clusterings of events constitute the contingencies that preceding events can introduce for subsequent events, because what begins as a challenging act induced and heavily constrained by pre-existing structure possesses the potential to become itself a causal variable in a subsequent chain of actions (17). A series of events can grow to the point that the initial structural influences that played a prominent role in unleashing the series seem buried in the distant past and relatively impotent (17). This is what Beissinger calls “thickened” history: a period in which the pace of challenging events quickens to the point that it becomes practically impossible to comprehend them and they come to constitute an increasingly significant part of their own causal structure (27). In such a “thickened” history, the example of successful challenge set by some ethnically-defined actors creates expectations of potential success for further challenges by the same actors or by others and unleashes acts of emulation and bandwagoning (31).

If Beissinger's event analysis uncovers how some peripheral ethno-national movements make claims to the central-state in reference to what other ethno-national movements have achieved, then David Lake & Donald Rothchild's framework is intended to approximate how peripheral ethno-national movements would interact with one another in reference to their perceptions of the central-state's ability to monopolize the use of violence (1996).

David Lake and Donald Rothchild argue that collective uncertainty about future maintenance of distinct group identity in combination with a weakened state authority can lead to growing inter-ethnic violence (1996, 43-44). Although not explicitly, they define "collective fear of future" and "state capacity" in a mutually constitutive way. "Collective fear of future" arises when neighboring ethnic groups find themselves in an increasingly anarchic situation in which they perceive as increasingly weakened the ability of the overarching multi-ethnic sovereign state to provide order and security from other ethnic groups and perceive it as increasingly necessary to fend for their own security. State capacity hereby consists mainly in two dimensions, coercive capacity and perceived legitimacy (43). In this sense, Lake and Rothchild indeed apply Barry Posen's framing of inter-ethnic relations after the collapse of a previously overarching state as "security dilemma" (1993) to the scenario in which state capacity may not necessarily collapse but only is perceived as weakening or biased towards certain groups. Although Lake and Rothchild believe that ethnic actors' "physical (in)security" (1996, 44) would be at stake, the forward-looking nature (44) of such "physical (in)security" may also allude to the notion of ethnic actors' "ontological security."

“Ontological security,” as opposed to “physical security,” is a security of being, a sense of confidence and trust that the world is what it appears to be, as conceptualized by Catarina Kinnvall (2004). In response to threatened “ontological security,” individuals may tend to strengthen their attachment to any collective perceived as being able to reduce insecurity and existential anxiety. The combination of religion and nationalism, according to Kinnvall, is a particularly powerful response in that, by providing a thick “identity-signifier,” it furnishes particularly powerful stories and beliefs/discourses through their ability to convey a picture of security, a “home” safe from intruder/abject-other. Therefore, the religion-nationalism combination is more likely than other modes of identity constructions to arise during crises of ontological insecurity (762-763).

In Lake and Rothchild’s study of ethnic conflicts, individuals resort to ethnically-oriented frames as cognitive devices to identify the collective for insecurity-reduction. Groups are made as elites and masses frame and interpret their future in ethnic terms, and a polarized dynamic between groups produces and reproduces itself through the mechanisms of intergroup security dilemma, intra-group power struggle between radical and moderate political elites, and perceived declining state capacity (1996, 44).

However, relevant to the puzzle of this dissertation, Lake and Rothchild’s explanation may suffer from the following concerns. First, their units of analysis are ethnic groups rather than ethno-regions. Second, even if one deliberately conflates the concepts of ethnic groups and ethno-regions, despite similar anxieties about ontological insecurity during the 1990s, subsequent autonomy outcome in Tatarstan differs from that in

Xinjiang, even though both the Russian⁴⁸ and Chinese states as of most recently can be regarded as strong in terms of their coercive capability. Third, “collective fear” is more likely to have resulted from discontent with subdued autonomy outcome. If that is the case, it is implied that implemented autonomy outcomes need to be treated as explanatory variable rather than response variable. Fourth, although the perceived legitimacy can be limited of the Russian and Chinese states in the eyes of certain ethnically-defined actors, it is difficult to capture the elusive extent to which the respective central-states enjoy legitimacy among both ethnic Tatars and ethnic Uyghurs as well as how such an extent may change over time. Fifth, categorical distinction does not necessarily translate into group polarization. The “fears-under-weak-state” approach barely explains not only why mobilization among ethnic Tatars has dwindled in Tatarstan despite the initially weak post-Soviet Russian state but also why Uyghur-Han tension grows despite the increasingly strong (in terms of both “despotic” and “infrastructural” powers, Mann 1984) Chinese state. Sixth, Lake and Rothchild do not make the distinction between central-state authorities and subnational-level state authorities in their discussion of state capacity. For an alternative, my framework clearly distinguishes ethno-regional states from central states and scrutinizes the capacity of ethno-regional states.

In Henry Hale’s study of ethnic secessions, the institutionally-defined actors are the pairing of an ethno-region and its corresponding central-state (2008). He builds a stylized rational-choice model for predicting when ethno-regions will choose to secede from the central-state, in which he defines ethnic secession as encompassing two scenarios: either

⁴⁸ Especially since Vladimir Putin’s rise to power in 1999 and the military pacification of insurgencies in Chechnya throughout the 2000s.

a regional government has opted for secession, or secessionist movements have taken over the ethno-regional government (72). He argues that the key factor determining whether a given ethno-region will secede or not is whether or not the central-state is perceived as exploitative and readily violent (72). In other words, ethno-regions play the initiating role in the politics of ethnic secessions, which is fundamentally about shaping ethno-regional perceptions regarding the nature of the potential of central government. Such perceptions are conditioned by four factors, ethnicity, central state policies, framing, and institutionally mediated interests (77).

As regards ethnicity, Hale notes that thick ethnic divides can heighten the degree of risk that an ethno-region's political elites and masses attach to being in a union state, whereas central state policies can powerfully alter both ethno-regional political elites' and masses' perceptions concerning the likelihood of experiencing exploitation or cooperation if staying together with the central-state. Framing, on the other hand, refers to how ethno-regional political elites, through agenda-setting and media, can influence mass perceptions of central-state. Institutionally mediated interests connote how the interests of the masses as constituted by institutional rules can influence the potential mobilizing power of all the various "frames" that ethno-regional political elites might employ (77). A central assumption underlying Hale's model can be phrased as such: ethno-regional states are internally homogenous actors, possess certain level of freedom of choice, while being rational, even if the empirical evidence of secessionism may not necessarily be as simplex.

Erin Jenne's study of ethnic secessions focuses upon center-periphery interactions in reference to minority elites' perception of the situation. Most importantly, ethnic

minorities are assumed to be backed by certain external powers. Minority elites do not try to mobilize minority masses into a group unless the perceptions of their own increased leverage vis-à-vis the central-state foment collective desires for more radical demands to bargain for greater concessions from the central-state (2007, 10). Desires for radicalization emanate from two types of opportunity structures: institutional opportunity structure, which connotes a transient political environment that emerges, often unexpectedly, to alter the balance of power between the minority and the central-state (10-11), and discursive opportunity structure, which provides the normative toolbox and ideational resource pool that can be deployed in pursuit of political objectives (11). To sum up Jenne's "ethnic bargaining" theory, group radicalization is driven by shifting perceptions of relative power against the center (11) while informed both by changes in the opportunity structures and by the actions of the group's external patron (11).

Overall, analytical frameworks in this approach tend to view groupness as forming at certain junctures, and such junctures are defined according to ethnically-constituted actors' perceptions and interpretations of events, other actors, the central state, or external powers. With regard to their explanatory power for varying autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions, these frameworks may not be adequate for the following reasons.

First, Mark Beissinger's clusterings and linkages of events do feature processes of mutually transforming agency and structure, yet the framework is not intended for cross-case comparison, since it is a single-case study of regime change. Second, Lake & Rothchild's collective fear is difficult to measure and more likely to have resulted from subdued autonomy outcome, while central-state capacity is not varying significantly across China and Russia. Third, ethno-regional perception of the central state, as used in

Hale's model, tends to be more suitable for explaining secessionist attempts, whereas central-state's perception of the ethno-region tends to be more suitable for explaining autonomy outcomes. After all, to explain differing autonomy outcomes implicit in which is the central state's tolerance of the elites of territorially-concentrated minorities to access the ethno-regional state and to share power with the central state, central-state's perception of the region seems a more relevant factor for explaining autonomy outcomes. Fourth, external patrons for the ethnic minority categories can be difficult to identify for both the focused and shadow case ethno-regions of this dissertation.

Groupness as endogenous to group-making processes

Frameworks that can be classified into this sub-approach view group boundaries as ever-changing and group consciousness as ever-forming in uninterrupted, everlasting group-making processes. Defined as a social, cultural, and political project intended for "transforming categories into groups or increasing levels of groupness" (Brubaker 2004, 13), group-making processes pertain to how groupness forms with regard to contested and competing understanding of categories, or rather, boundaries of such categories as regard where their denotation starts and ends.

Andreas Wimmer conceptualizes ethnic boundary makings as processes in which actors relate to existing boundaries by trying to change them or to de-emphasize them and to enforce new modes of categorization in a historical context characterized by previous processes of ethnic group formation (2013b, 49). In his comparative analytic delineated for a comprehensive theorization of inter-ethnic boundary-making processes, he provides conceptualization of a series of mutually related categories of analysis, including but are

not confined to, boundary features, boundary stability (104-105), boundary changes (105-112), mechanisms of boundary changes (32-38), modes (49-63) and means of boundary-makings (63-72), etc.

In his critique of the primordialist conception of ethnicity, Wimmer traces the assumption that ethnic categories necessarily imply groupness and shared culture to Johann Gottfried Herder's three assumptions in his studies of the emergence and disappearance of different "peoples": each "people" forms a close-knit community; shared sense of identity is based upon shared historical destiny; each "people" is endowed with shared language and culture (16). As Wimmer characterizes, Herder's essentialist assumptions of the world made up of culturally-bounded ethnic groups (20) have impact upon at least two of the subsequent schools of thought: "assimilation theories", which prescribe that ethnically-defined communities should homogenize into "mainstream" culture (18-19), and the antithetical "multiculturalism", which advocates for minorities' right to maintain cultural boundaries from majorities (19-20).

For an alternative conception of ethnicity, Wimmer builds upon Fredrik Barth's notion of ethnic boundaries while integrating the situationist schools' conceptualization. As summarized by Wimmer, Fredrik Barth argues that ethnic distinctions result from marking and maintaining a boundary regardless of perceived cultural differences (23). In other words, ethnically-based distinctions derive from how the ethnic boundary between ethnic categories is inscribed⁴⁹ onto a landscape of continuous cultural transitions (23).

⁴⁹ For instance, in the Volga-Ural regions of the Russian Federation, Tatars and Bashkirs are two ethnic categories corresponding largely to a shared landscape of continuous cultural and linguistic transitions. Similar cases include ethnic Bouyei and Zhuang in the Southwest of China, and ethnic Han, Manchu, Mongols, Koreans, Xibe, Daur, and Khakas in the Northeast of China (what was once "Manchukuo").

The situationist schools, for its part, view ethnic categories as arranged in a hierarchy of levels of differentiation (24). Such categories are not synonymous with distinct groups with mutually exclusive collective identities (23). Rather, the question as to which levels of differentiation can appear more salient than others is contingent upon the logic of situation and upon the characteristics of the persons mutually interacting (81). For instance, race tends to be the relevant type of categories in the U.S. while ethnicity tends to be relevant type of categories in China and Russia. The propensity to see the world as composed of ethnic groups is called “ethnicization”, a self-reinforcing process of focusing upon and reacting to the ethnic dimension of social reality, thus creating “minority problems” in various issue-areas (27).

Inherent in Wimmer’s conception of inter-ethnic boundary-making processes are the social classification and collective representation in ethnic terms. Such boundaries are realized through everyday networks of relationships that result from individual acts of “connecting and distancing” (2008a, 975), which can be examined on four macro-level features, cultural differentiation, social closure, political salience, and stability (976-985; 1001-1003).

Then how would inter-ethnic boundaries remain stable? How would inter-ethnic boundaries change? Wimmer attributes boundary stability to political salience, social closure, and cultural differentiation (2013b, 104). When political networks are aligned along ethnic boundaries, it can be difficult to establish crosscutting alliances with which to create possibility for alternative modes of classification (104). When ethnic boundaries overlap with cultural differences, they represent a strengthened empirical landscape with which new classificatory schemes have to tinker (104). When high degrees of social

closure rigidify ethnic hierarchy, a crosscutting mode of ethnic boundaries can be advocated as an alternative only by actors who wield considerable political power and legitimacy. Under certain circumstances, stable boundaries create thick identities (104), wherein many dimensions of cleavages align with one another, reducing the range of strategic options that actors can have at their proposals (104-105).

To account for why inter-ethnic boundaries may change, Wimmer notes that when political salience, social closure, and cultural differentiation are not overly high, boundaries tend to be more susceptible to changes (104). In these regards, their changes can be fashioned by exogenous shift (the introduction of new institutions, resources, actors), endogenous shift (cumulative consequences of strategies), exogenous drift (diffusions of new strategies), or a combination of these mechanisms. Wimmer summarizes three macro-level elements that structure the struggles over established inter-ethnic boundaries and influence the outcomes of such struggles: (1) institutional rules that provide incentives to pursue certain types of boundary-making strategies rather than others; (2) distribution of resources that influences the capacity of actors to shape the outcome, to have their mode of categorization respected, to make their strategies of social closure consequential for others, and to gain recognition of their own identity; (3) already established networks of political alliances whose contours ethnic boundaries are expected to follow (32).

By “modes” of boundary makings, Wimmer refers to two types of boundary-making strategies at the individual level, or rather, what actors may do to the existing boundaries: strategies to change the location of existing boundaries by expanding or contracting the domains of the included; strategies to modify the meaning and implication of existing

boundaries, either by challenging the hierarchical ordering of ethnic categories, or by de-emphasizing ethnicity and emphasizing other social cleavages, or by changing one's own position vis-à-vis the boundary (49). By "means" of boundary-makings, Wimmer speaks of actors' approaches to making their preferred mode of boundary-making consequential for others and thus inscribing it into social reality (49). Major types of means of boundary-makings include discursive categorization (official discourse, everyday discourse), symbolic identification (behaviors, visible cues, documents), discrimination (legalized, institutionalized, informal), political mobilization, coercion (forcible assimilation), as well as violence (ethnic cleansing, lynching, rioting, 49).

Of the boundary-making strategies summarized by Wimmer, one may merit additional discussion, boundary blurring (61-63). Rubén Rumbaut discusses it in a more conventional but also controversial term, "assimilation" (2005). Rumbaut treats "assimilation" as an empirical, analytical category rather than normative, prescriptive one, connoting the social, multidimensional processes of boundary reduction which either blurs or dissolves an ethnic distinction (158). At the individual level, assimilation connotes the cumulative changes that render individuals of one ethnic category more acculturated, integrated, and identified with the individuals of another ethnic category. At the aggregate level, assimilation may involve the absorption of one or more minority categories into the majority category or the merging of minority categories (158). Processes of assimilation can be analyzed on three interrelated dimensions, cultural (acculturation), structural (integration), and psychological (identification) processes. Acculturation involves complex processes of cultural diffusion and changes producing greater linguistic and cultural similarity between two or more populations (167). The

homogenizing effects of acculturation processes are generally more extensive among members of smaller and less powerful populations, and particularly voluntary immigrants (167). Nevertheless, acculturation is empirically never exclusively one-sided, since dominant populations can also be culturally influenced through their interactions with other populations in the society (167). Two sub-types of acculturation are summarized by Rumbaut: subtractive acculturation, which involves relinquishing some attribute-values of a cultural repertoire (e.g. language, memory, 167), while replacing them with another attribute-value, and additive acculturation, which entails the forming and sustaining a more complex repertoire (e.g. bilingualism, 167). Such mechanisms, although not necessarily resulting in changes of ethnic categories, resonate with Kanchan Chandra's conceptualization of how ethnic categories change. Structural integration, as per Rumbaut, can be analyzed on two levels. The primary level of structural integration involves extensive interaction within interpersonal networks and intermarriages (167). The secondary level of structural integration refers to a wide range of key integrative processes such as socioeconomic and residential assimilation, the acquisition of citizenship as a formally recognized member of the polity (167), and so forth. Psychological identification processes, if accompanying widespread acculturation, social mobility, and intermarriage, can lead to ethnic identity becoming an optional, leisure-time category. Boundaries become fuzzier, less salient, less relevant to everyday social life, and the feeling of connection to an ancestral past has significantly faded (167-168). Boundary blurring requires actions and reactions from both sides of a given boundary. It is dependent not only upon socio-economic status and the development of linguistic and

cultural similarity but also upon the context of reception and the degree of discrimination experienced by the subordinate population (166-168).

Unlike Rumbaut who uses the term “assimilation,” Rahsaan Maxwell discusses boundary blurring in terms of “integrations” (2012). He dissects a minority’s level of integration into three mutually exclusive dimensions, social, economic, and political integrations. His puzzle is based upon such a tri-dimensional conception of integration and revolves around a “disjuncture” (14) he observes between social integration and other dimensions of integration: why some ethnic minorities’ social integration outcomes may be better than others’, while their economic and political integration outcomes may not be as good as others’. To explain that, Maxwell’s “integration trade-offs” theory postulates that higher level of social integration may undermine a minority’s ability to mobilize, which in turn may hinder its ability to bargain with the state for economic benefits and to be better politically represented in the state apparatus (4).

Maxwell posits the majority-minority dynamics as endogenous to the agency of both elites and masses of ethnic minorities. To causally link levels of social integration to levels of economic and political integrations, the mediating variable of his analytical framework is an ethnic minority’s capacity to mobilize intra-ethnic networks. He bases his understanding of greater segregation leading to better capacity for mobilization on the “importance of collective identity for political mobilization” (22). In other words, social segregation, corresponding to Wimmer’s notion of “social closure,” may have positive bearings upon economic or political integrations because it is conducive to the building of group consciousness, which in turn prepares the minority for group-based mobilization that may improve political or economic integrations. Nevertheless, Maxwell’s theory is

largely inducted from the experiences of former colonial empires in Western Europe, and it remains dubious how it may travel to majority-minority dynamics in the contexts of ethnic territorially-based autonomy in China or Russia. Indeed, the evidence of Xinjiang and Tatarstan tends to indicate the negation of Maxwell's postulation that more social segregation is conducive to more political representation. His "integration trade-offs" theory is not adequately applicable to the study of comparative ethnic regional autonomy for the following understandings:

First, the type of minorities studied by Maxwell differs from that of my study in that his are migrant minorities without ethno-regions designated for them while mine are titular minorities often with ethno-regions designated for them. Second, the institutional order of former colonial empires in Western Europe differs significantly from that of such colossal, multi-ethnic, and authoritarian regimes as China or Russia. In Great Britain or France, political representation of migrant minorities is usually realized through electoral processes, wherein individuals cast their votes and minority delegates are elected to certain key posts in governmental apparatuses. By contrast, in China or Russia, representation of elites of ethnic minority categories are usually realized through elite networks within an incumbent party, even if the incumbent party's picked candidates may be legitimized through formal electoral processes as well. Third, regarding groupness, higher levels of acculturation and social integration does not necessarily translate into reduced group consciousness, or Rumbaut's dimension of psychological identification (2005, 167-168), as evinced in the case of ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan. Fourth, regarding ethnic minority elites' capacity to mobilize ethnic minority populace,

social segregation does not necessarily translate into improved ability to self-organize, as manifested in the case of ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang.

Minority elites' capacity to mobilize masses tends to hinge upon patterns of intra-ethnic cleavages. When the minority-majority cleavage completely overlaps with class-based cleavage, as illustrated in Pattern I of the figure below, such a "ranked system"⁵⁰ (Horowitz 1985) can be conducive to the building of mobilizational capacity for the minority, because elites and masses bear similar socio-economic profiles. When the minority-majority cleavage almost overlaps with class-based cleavage but with minority elites more integrated socio-economically, as illustrated in Pattern II of the figure below, high but not total segregation of the minority can hamper its more-integrated elites to mobilize the segregated masses. When the minority-majority cleavage crosscuts with class-based cleavages, as illustrated in Pattern III of the figure below, considerably high level of integration for the minority can be conducive to building minority elites' mobilizational capacity because a significantly large portion of the minority population bears similar socio-economic profiles.

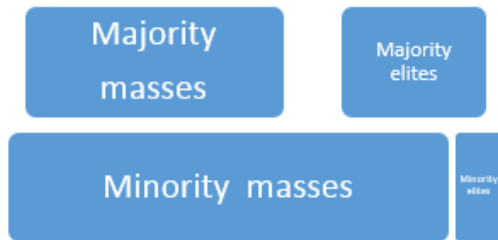
Figure 2.1. Ethnically-based cleavages versus class-based cleavages

⁵⁰ Structure in which inter-ethnic relations are hierarchical, coinciding largely with social classes and characterized by simultaneous dominations in each domain by one group over another (Horowitz 1985, 22).

Pattern I



Pattern II



Pattern III



Notwithstanding, the *groupness as endogenous to group-making processes* approach displays direct relevancy to explaining differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions, since features of inter-ethnic boundaries or dimensions of inter-ethnic integration not only vary empirically across different ethno-regions in China and Russia but are also conceptual categories able to capture processually and relationally, for a specific time frame, patterns of contested titular-majority relations which contextualize elite-level interactions leading to an ethno-region's autonomy outcome. That said, Wimmer's comparative analytic for the study of ethnic boundary-makings, though pointing to the role of elite agency both in deploying modes and means of boundary-makings as well as in structuring boundary-making strategies (networks of political alliances), does not

provide theorization about how features of inter-ethnic boundaries could also shape elite agency. This is the very question centrally addressed in my analytical framework.

Groupness as endogenous to elite agency

This sub-approach is based upon the assumption that groupness is first and foremost molded by elite agency. Group consciousness is attributed to the manipulation of certain elites against rival elites. In this sense, an instrumental conception of groupness is central to this sub-approach, and the explained phenomena ranges from ethnic conflicts (Gagnon 2004), to endogenous institutional changes (Aktürk 2011), to nation-building policies (Mylonas 2012).

V.P. Gagnon's explanation of violent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia is representative of the epiphenomenal conception of ethnic conflicts. He critiques the prevalent discourse of "ethnic conflicts" as a misnomer for what is fundamentally about power struggles among political elites. Gagnon argues that not ethnic heterogeneity but rather elite strategies constitute the source of violence (2004). Concretely, certain incumbent elites who are confronted with non-ethnic cleavages, political pluralism, and popular mobilization respond by inflicting violence on diverse, plural communities with the goal of demobilizing key parts of the population by trying to impose political homogeneity on heterogeneous social spaces (7). These elites try to protect the *status quo* and to demobilize the population whom challenger elites try to mobilize to achieve fundamental changes in the political and economic power structure. Towards that end, *status quo* elites shift the focus of political discourse away from issues around which challengers are mobilizing the populace towards the question of who "owns" space (8). That said, impact

of structural power does matter, as Gagnon notes. The existing political and economic power structures tend to privilege those elites who have access to resources of power in their constructing of environments that severely limit individuals' free expression of self-perceived interests. Such elites also play key roles in the constructing of images that affect how individuals perceive their interests and justificatory discourse that apparently aligns politics and elite behavior with the putative interests of the masses (25).

Gagnon prompts us to rethink the nature of ethnic conflicts. He admonishes that the conflict described, explained, and justified in ethnic terms does not mean that the conflict is really about ethnicity. He invites scholars to problematize the discourse of ethnic conflict and the concepts of groupness and solidarity (12). Delving into the political psychology of violence, Gagnon argues that incumbent elites resort to violence to create an image of "solidarity" based on fear and threats from perceived differences rather than on senses of commonality (27-28) to preclude alternative conceptualizations of communities (28).

Elite agency is also emphasized in Şener Aktürk's framework explaining why ethnicity regimes change (2011). He argues that "counter-elites" who are linked with and representative of those constituencies with ethnically-specific grievances (133) against the existing ethnicity regime are the major actors tinkering with and pushing for changes of the existing ethnicity regime. Concretely, counter-elites develop and advocate for new discourse, which is a comprehensive new framing of the link between ethnic categories and the national identity that provides justification for specific changes in ethnicity regimes (134). In the meantime, counter-elites try to attain hegemonic majority, which connotes disproportionate political power over their opposition (117). Counter-elites, new

discourse, and hegemonic majority constitute three of the separately necessary but jointly sufficient conditions for change in the ethnicity regime. Briefly put, if “counter-elites” representing constituencies with ethnically specific grievances assume power while equipped with a “new discourse” on ethnicity and nationality and garner a “hegemonic majority,” they may become able to change the existing ethnicity regime (117).

Harris Mylonas, for his part, builds an explanatory framework to explain the varying nation-building policies towards non-core groups across nation-states (2012). The “ruling political elites”⁵¹ of such nation-states, or rather, the “host-states”, perceive certain aggregations of individuals within the border of the state as “non-core”⁵² groups. These ruling elites also perceive certain external powers as cultivating relations with those non-core groups (5). Predicated upon the foregoing assumptions, Mylonas argues that external involvement, whether clandestine, covert, or overt, drives not only the mobilization and politicization of non-core group’s identity, but also the ruling elites’ perception of such groups and the state’s nation-building policies towards them (5).

Three types of nation-building policies constitute the repertoire for the ruling elites, i.e. assimilationist policies, accommodations, and exclusionary policies. Assimilationist policies presuppose “core group”⁵³ culture” as superior to non-core group’s culture and encompass educational, cultural, occupational, matrimonial, demographic, and other state policies aimed at the adoption of the “core group culture” by the targeted non-core group, sometimes under the guise of an impartial law (21-22). Accommodations refers to the scenarios where formal “minority” status is granted, and cultural “differences” of a non-

⁵¹ For a definition of this term, see the subsection *Ethnic majority versus ethnic minorities* of this chapter.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

core group are more or less respected, with institutions regulating or even perpetuating differences put in place (22). Exclusionary policies usually aim at the physical removal of a non-core group from the host state's territory and can take the forms of population exchange, deportation, internal displacement, segregation, etc. (22-23).

The type of nation-building policies towards a specific non-core group hinges upon the ruling elites' perceived characteristics of both their own state and the external power behind the non-core group. When the host state is revisionist⁵⁴ and perceives the relevant external power as enemy, it will adopt exclusionary policies towards the non-core group (37). When the host state is pro-*status quo*⁵⁵ and perceives the relevant external power as enemy, then it will adopt assimilationist policies towards the non-core group (37). When the relevant external power is perceived as an ally by the host state, then it will adopt accommodations towards the non-core group (37). When there is no external power perceived to be behind a non-core group, then the host-state will try to assimilate the non-core group (37).

Mylonas' focus upon ruling elites' perception of non-core groups and external powers displays limited applicability to explaining differing autonomy outcomes, even if the "host state's perception of non-core groups in relation to external powers" framework (2012) does furnish some theorizations about the origins of ethnic territorially-based autonomy arrangements, which approximate the nation-building policies of

⁵⁴ The state's foreign policy goals derive from previously lost territories and/or increasing power relative to competing states and are to challenge the international *status quo* (37).

⁵⁵ The state's foreign policy goals derive from previously gained territories and/or decreasing power relative to competing states and are to maintain the international *status quo* (37).

“accommodation.” Nevertheless, for states claiming to be multi-ethnic⁵⁶, sometimes it can be tricky to draw a clear-cut boundary between a core group and non-core groups (7), since elites governing the state (23) can be drawn from both the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities. Moreover, even assuming that Mylonas’ framework is applicable to multi-ethnic states, usually the ruling elites’ policies towards minorities exhibit combined elements of accommodation, assimilationist, and exclusionary types. In some cases, even without identifiable external power, the ruling elites will still adopt formal accommodations⁵⁷ towards certain minorities at certain junctures, contingent largely upon domestic elite-level inter-ethnic dynamics. Last but not least, the units of analysis of Mylonas’ study are state-and-non-core-group pairs rather than ethno-regions.

To sum up, the *groupness as endogenous to elite agency* approach has the merit of highlighting elite agency. With regard to explaining differing autonomy outcomes, titular elites are the key agents who put formally promulgated autonomy into practice. Differing autonomy outcomes derive by definition from varying titular elites’ capacity across ethno-regions. However, such agency-based explanations do not adequately address the question as regards the source of elite capacity, for instance, as regards how such structural conditions as ethnic institutions or ethnic boundary-makings may shape the building of elite capacity to exercise autonomy. For instance, Gagnon and Aktürk’s frameworks downplay structural factors either by not addressing why incumbent elites like Slobodan Milošević chose to play the “ethnic” cards, or why ethnically-based

⁵⁶ In fact, Harris Mylonas leaves outside the scope conditions of his cases multi-ethnic states, which, as he asserts, are by definition “not driven by a homogenizing imperative” (2012, 7) and for whom “accommodation rather than assimilation is the default option” (7).

⁵⁷ For instance, the establishing of Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic for ethnic Yakuts in the USSR; the official recognition of Manchu as an ethnic category and designation of a number of autonomous counties in Hebei, Liaoning, and Jilin provinces for ethnic Manchus in the PRC.

categorizations were so salient in the former Yugoslavia, or by not addressing the sources of grievances towards the existing ethnicity regimes. Meanwhile, Mylonas' framework relegates the ontological importance of minority elites' agency to merely a function of external manipulations. Furthermore, to discuss implemented autonomy outcomes in Xinjiang and Tatarstan, it can be difficult to accurately determine who are the external powers.

GROUPNESS AS ENDOGENOUS ITERATIVELY TO STRUCTURE AND AGENCY

The analytical framework I propose in the Introduction is tailored to explaining the differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions. While appropriating and reframing elements from both the *groupness as endogenous to historically-determined structure* approach and the *groupness as endogenous to elite agency* approach, this framework follows what I call *groupness as endogenous iteratively to structure and agency* approach. The framework's conception of groupness is endogenous to structure in the sense that groupness is produced and reproduced in patterns of inter-ethnic boundary-makings, while its conception of groupness is endogenous also to agency in the sense that patterns of inter-ethnic boundary-makings and titular elites' agency shape each other iteratively, creating somehow self-reinforcing cycles.

In one type of such cycles, greater inter-ethnic integration and consolidated titular elite bargaining capacity reinforce each other, leading to higher level of autonomy outcome for the ethno-region, while in another type of such cycles, greater inter-ethnic

differentiation and limited titular elite bargaining capacity reinforce each other, leading to lower level of autonomy outcome for the ethno-region. However, my analytical framework has a focus upon how inter-ethnic boundary-makings shape elite agency rather than the other way, since the explanatory goal is to trace the process of differing patterns of inter-ethnic boundary-makings leading to differing autonomy outcomes by the intermediary of titular elites' agency.

Assumptions of the mechanism

The logic of my analytical framework relies upon five hypotheses that will be tested to the autonomy-building experiences of Xinjiang and Tatarstan in Chapters 4 and 5. These hypotheses delineate how differing patterns of inter-ethnic boundary-makings can lead to differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions by tracing the processes flowing from dimensions of inter-ethnic boundary-makings through dimensions of titular elites' bargaining capacity to the implemented autonomy outcome of an ethno-region.

Hypothesis I: Higher level of acculturation of the population of the titular category is a necessary condition for more collusive, less hierarchical types of relationships between the titular elites and the majority elites. This hypothesis connects inter-ethnic acculturation to elite-level inter-ethnic relations. If the population of the titular ethnic category is overall more culturally and linguistically assimilated with the population of the central state's ethnic majority category, then such higher degree of acculturation can translate into titular elites' more solid communication skills with the elites of the majority category at both the central and ethno-regional levels. Such communication skills, in turn, are both indispensable and conducive to the titular elites' building of cross-ethnic

networks of political alliances as well as of more collusive elite-level inter-ethnic relationships.

Hypothesis II: *More solid social integration of an ethno-region's titular population is a necessary condition for lower risk of secession and more positive image of the ethno-region as perceived by the central state.* This hypothesis connects inter-ethnic social integration to the central-state's perception of the titular population and the ethno-region. If the population of the titular ethnic category is overall more socially integrated into the economy and community of the population of the central state's ethnic majority category, or rather, if the titular population exhibits similar patterns of socio-economic profiles to those of the majority population, then that is conducive to prompting the central state to perceive the titular population as more structurally embedded in the mainstream society and thus more incentivized to stay in the host state than to seek secession from it. Inversely, lower degree of social integration plus higher degree of ethnic consciousness can drastically increase the central state's paranoia about its control over the ethno-region and its titular population.

Hypothesis III: *Higher level of social integration and robust self-identification as ethnically distinct are separately necessary while jointly sufficient for higher level of intra-ethnic cohesion within the titular population and titular elites' capacity to mobilize the titular populace.* This hypothesis connects inter-ethnic social integration, combined with psychological identification, to intra-ethnic cleavage structure. On one hand, sustained and sufficient level of ethnic consciousness among individuals of the titular ethnic category is indispensable for these individuals to relate to others and to act socio-politically in ethnic terms. Weak ethnic consciousness among individuals of the titular

ethnic category can significantly blur the boundary between the titular and majority populations, which can in turn render the formally designated autonomy increasingly dissociated with its intended “subjects” and meaningless. On the other hand, higher degree of social integration can translate into internally less differentiated, less polarized socio-economic/cultural cleavage structure of the titular population, leading to greater upward social mobility encouraging the masses to identify with or to become themselves elites. This can in turn promote intra-ethnic cohesion and titular elites’ mobilizing capacity. Under certain circumstances, greater social integration can even be conducive to the titular elites’ capacity to reach out to members of the central state’s ethnic majority residing in the ethno-region.

In order for there to be heightened intra-ethnic cohesion within the titular population and titular elites’ mobilizational capacity, there need to be both heightened inter-ethnic social integration and robust ethnic consciousness among individuals of the titular ethnic category simultaneously. In other words, a balance between inter-ethnic integration and inter-ethnic differentiation needs to be struck to achieve higher titular intra-ethnic cohesion. When there is a lack of **integration-distinction balance**, titular intra-ethnic cohesion may likely be low if there is heightened inter-ethnic social integration without robust ethnic consciousness, or if there is low inter-ethnic social integration despite robust ethnic consciousness, or if both inter-ethnic social integration and titular ethnic consciousness are low.

Hypothesis IV: Titular elites’ more solid relationships with the central-state elites, overall positive image of the ethno-region in the eyes of the central state, and relatively high level of intra-ethnic cohesion within the titular population are jointly sufficient for

heightened representation of the titular elites in the ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions. This hypothesis connects the first three dimensions of titular elites' bargaining capacity to the fourth dimension. The three dimensions are elite-level inter-ethnic relations, central-state's perception of the titular group, and inter-ethnic cleavage structure, whereas the fourth dimension is titular elites' representation in the ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions. The first three are jointly sufficient for the fourth. If the titular elites have established more collusive, more broadened ties to the majority elites at both the central and the ethno-regional levels, if the central state, for its part, places augmented trust in the titular elites, and if the titular group is internally more close-knit and can bear more potential impact upon the mainstream society in the event of mobilizations, then the titular elites will be perceived more as "important allies" of the central state than as "fungible agents," wield more bargaining power vis-à-vis the central state and be featured more securely in the ethno-regional state organs.

Hypothesis V: *Proportionate representation of titular elites in the ethno-regional state is a sine qua non for more conspicuously-felt autonomy outcome for an ethno-region.*

Proportionate titular control of the ethno-regional state is a defining attribute of ethnic territorially-based autonomy, a necessary condition for autonomy implementation, and a property unique to autonomy as implemented. The higher such representation, the more capable an ethno-region is to practice its stipulated autonomy, since sufficient titular representation can provide a check on central state's control that exceeds the limit of its stipulated sphere of responsibilities. Admittedly, adequate titular representation alone is not sufficient for higher degree of autonomy outcome, as it has to be combined with agency of both the central state and the ethno-regional state in their governances. Such

agency can be more contingent, for example, upon various institutional constraints or opportunities. In other words, although sufficient titular representation in the ethno-regional state organs and their powerful positions cannot be equated with autonomy as implemented outcome, it is a prerequisite and a starting point for titular elites' agency to be effective in the exercising of formally promulgated autonomy.

Some caveats

Caveat I The two condition variables of my framework, formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations, are intended to represent institutional constraints or opportunities rather than to be used as explanatory variables framing the causal phenomena (Van Evera 1997, 10). When formal institution arrangements tend to limit the range of officially permissible behaviors (Tsai 2007, 38), they can constitute constraints. On the other hand, formal institutional contexts with overlapping jurisdictions can provide opportunities for actors to adjust discrete portions of formal institutions (38). Notably, since center-periphery relations and party-state relations are national-level rather than subnational-level institutional arrangements, they vary across countries but not within a country across different ethno-regions. Therefore, such institutional differences are suitable to account for, often in conjunction with other variables, differences in terms of autonomy outcome between an ethno-region in one country and an ethno-region in another, if the autonomy outcomes of the two ethno-regions differ. Nonetheless, such institutional differences may not satisfactorily serve as explanatory tools for the differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions within the same country, for instance, between Tatarstan and Bashkortostan in Russia or between

Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia in China. Moreover, such institutional constraints and opportunities may themselves be sculpted by elite-level compromises at certain historical junctures, for instance, in the context of Russia and Tatarstan interactively molding ethno-federal institutions in the early 1990s.

Caveat II The major explanatory variable, inter-ethnic boundary-makings, is intended to capture group-level, ethno-regional-level structural characteristics rather than individual-level ones. In other words, even if the titular population is overall less integrated, there can still be segments of the population more integrated; even if the titular population is overall highly integrated, there can still be segments of the population less integrated, since there can be multiple concurrent types of boundary-making strategies deployed within a group. Over time, as individuals shift their boundary-making strategies and as certain strategies replace other ones as more predominant, it is possible for there to be improved integration or improved elite-level relationship for previously less integrated populations. In this sense, for the population of the titular ethnic category of an ethno-region, level of integration can change. So can the titular elites' bargaining capacity and the ethno-region's autonomy outcome. Nonetheless, the dissertation largely leaves out of its purview the addressing of such changes, considering that it is focused upon synchronic cross-case variations rather than diachronic within-case variations.

Caveat III The possibility of the bargaining capacity of the titular elites of certain ethno-regions impacting that of the titular elites of other ethno-regions under one central-state cannot be ruled out: pre-existing patterns of certain titular elites wielding more bargaining capacity vis-à-vis the central state than others can somehow exercise constraints upon the emergence of previously more disadvantaged elites, even if the

disadvantaged population becomes more integrated into the mainstream society.

Nonetheless, since this possibility is not an issue for the comparison of Xinjiang in China and Tatarstan in Russia, it will only be cursorily revisited in the conclusion.

Added value of the analytical framework

Compared to the existing approaches to the study of ethnic politics, my analytical framework may possess greater explanatory potential in terms of explaining differing autonomy outcomes across ethno-regions for the following considerations.

First, my analytical framework has the potential of describing and explaining ethnic territorially-based autonomy as a *sui generis* type of ethnic politics. It can achieve that by uncovering the process of how ethno-regions reach differing implemented autonomy outcomes. Meanwhile, it also explores how it can be possible to strike not only the balance between entrenched ethnic identities and a multi-ethnic state's territorial integrity but also the balance between two mutually competing but not necessarily incompatible tendencies, one towards inter-ethnic differentiation and the other towards inter-ethnic integration.

Second, the conceptual framework proposed and applied in Chapters 3 and 6 to measure and to compare autonomy as implemented outcome allows for comprehensive analysis of such outcomes. Using normative institutions as baselines, it sheds light upon the understanding that what is practiced may not exactly coincide with what is promulgated. The conceptual framework captures such discrepancies by analyzing ethnic territorially-

based autonomy in two modes, autonomy as normative institution and autonomy as implemented outcome.

Third, my analytical framework follows an eclectic approach (Mahoney and Snyder 1999, 21) by combining domestic-structural factors⁵⁸, elite-level agential factors⁵⁹ (9-10), and meso-level (17) institutional factors. On one hand, with regard to domestic-structural factors, my analytical framework does not take for granted and assume groupness.

Instead, it conceptualizes ethnicity and inter-ethnic cleavages both processually and relationally, acknowledging that inter-ethnic relations are not by nature conflictual but rather are contested and multifaceted. On the other hand, by highlighting the agency of elites, it challenges the assumption that “there is not much elites can do” while contextualizing how domestic-structural factors and meso-level institutional factors may impact elite-level agential factors. In this regard, agency of both elites and masses is treated as over-socialized in inter-ethnic boundary-makings, which entails long-term, impersonal processes, limited maneuverability, as well as identity and interests constituted (5-6) by such boundary-makings. Agency of elites is treated as under-socialized in terms of yielding actually exercised autonomy outcomes in that ongoing interactions between purposeful actors shape the outcome (5-6). In the meantime, meso-level institutional factors can be both constraining and generative (6).

Fourth, my argument that **higher level of social integration for the titular population can lead to greater autonomy outcome for the ethno-region by boosting titular elites’ bargaining capacity** is abducted from the application of my analytical framework

⁵⁸ Long-range, temporally remote, causes (Mahoney and Snyder 1999, 9-10).

⁵⁹ Short-term, temporally proximate, “causers” (9-10).

to a controlled comparison in Chapters 4 and 5 of Xinjiang and Tatarstan whose implemented autonomy outcomes are strikingly contrasted. The argument shows its potential of traveling to more ethno-regions in China and Russia in Chapter 6, where it has been able to predict the levels of implemented autonomy outcome for Inner Mongolia and Tibet of China as well as for Bashkortostan and Yakutia of Russia on the basis of the level of social integration for the titular populations of these ethno-regions. Accordingly, although no controlled comparisons or process tracings are conducted of these shadow cases, my analytical framework demonstrates its potential of contributing to a broader understanding of how to build the capacity to exercise ethnic territorially-based autonomy in general.

3. AUTONOMY AS PRESCRIPTIVE INSTITUTION AND AS IMPLEMENTED OUTCOME IN CHINA AND RUSSIA

This chapter establishes differing autonomy outcomes across Xinjiang and Tatarstan as observable facts. It begins with chronologically reviewing the respective historical trajectories of institutionalized ethnicity in Russia and China, followed by a comparison of ethnic territorially-based autonomy as prescriptive institution in China and Russia. The chapter culminates with introducing a conceptual framework with which to measure and to compare, based upon collected data, the differing degrees of actually-exercised autonomy of Xinjiang and Tatarstan in relation to the legally binding covenants that establish normative autonomy for the ethno-regions. Within this conceptual framework, dimensions of an ethno-region's implemented autonomy outcome for a specific time frame are scored, weighted and aggregated to create a score of compliance for that ethno-region. I argue that level of implemented autonomy outcome has been remarkably higher in Tatarstan than in Xinjiang for the first six years of the 2010s.

BRIEF HISTORY OF INSTITUTIONALIZED ETHNICITY IN CHINA AND RUSSIA

China resembles the Soviet Union in terms of the contours of category-defining and category-managing ethnic institutions⁶⁰, while post-Soviet Russia largely inherited the legacies of the Soviet Union. Why did both Bolsheviks and the Chinese Communist Party (hereafter CCP) opt for using the ethnic mode of categorization? It would be more helpful to investigate the knowledge structure⁶¹ that foregrounds and constrains the ethnic mode of categorizing than to construct a rational-choice model. Such a knowledge structure may have rested on two foundations, a theoretical one and an empirical one.

The theoretical foundation consists of some panoramic assumptions about human history. These assumptions combine elements⁶² of Marxist-Leninist (Kaup 2000, 53) and Herderian⁶³ thoughts and tend to hold that human beings, apparently composed of culturally-bounded “ethnic groups” or “nations”, are teleologically bound for a common destination of communism. “Nations” are both a product and a reflection of bourgeois production relations (63). They would eventually merge with one another and gradually lose their prominence, as human beings collectively moved into socialist and communist modes of productions (63). However, both Bolsheviks and the CCP were aware that not all populations were on a par with one another in terms of modes of production. In the

⁶⁰ Conceptualized in the subsection “State and institutionalized ethnicity” of Chapter 2.

⁶¹ Based upon Alexander Wendt’s conceptualization of “social structure of shared knowledge” (1995), I define “knowledge structure” as a system of shared ideas about mutually intertwined assumptions, concepts, theories, knowledge of institutions that represent the material and social world. Relevant actors’ identities and interests are socially constructed in these shared ideas.

⁶² Corresponding to what Terry Martin summarizes as the Marxist, modernization, and colonial premises (2001, 4-8).

⁶³ See the subsection “Groupness as endogenous to group-making processes” of Chapter 2.

eyes of Bolsheviks, CCP, and their ethnographers, some populations were “nations” (Russian: *natsiya*; Chinese: *minzu*), which, as Francine Hirsch summarizes, refers to

a state-bearing people with its own territorial region and “other state attributes,” among them common language, common economic life, and common culture, that it had “attained over the course of its entire process of development.” (2005, 266-267)

Populations not as fully-fledged as nations were “nationalities” (Russian: *natsional’nost’*; Chinese: *minzu jituan*, Mullaney 2011, 82-83) among whom national consciousness has been forming. But such populations have nevertheless not yet attained other essential attributes of a “nation” such as common land, common language, common economic life, and common culture (267). Even less fledged were the “tribal federations” (Russian: *narodnost’*; Chinese: *buzu*, Mullaney 2011, 82), which connotes populations with ethnically, culturally-based peculiarities, irrespective of whether group consciousness has been forming or not (267). As economy develops and as new modes of production prevail, it was assumed that tribal federations would amalgamate into nationalities, which would in turn merge into nations (267). The capitalist mode of production is considered the necessary stage prior to the stage of socialism, and at the stage of capitalism, populations are predicted to start merging into nations under nation-states. Considering that, both Bolsheviks and CCP tended to believe that, to proactively accelerate the process towards socialist and communist modes of production, populations must be consciously reorganized ethnically into nationalities or nations, whose proletarians would then merge (Russian: *sliyaniye*, Dreyer 1976, 55) into even bigger nations towards the stages of socialism and communism.

The empirical foundation of the knowledge structure consists of certain heuristic understandings about the populations inhabiting the territories Bolsheviks and CCP sought to control. Such populations were perceived as diverse ethnically, linguistically, and culturally with competing understandings of who they were and what they wanted. How to effectively manage the perceived diversity and to transform diversity into support of the new regimes in their attempts to establish political power as well as in their transformative agendas? Ethnic categories were favored, more or less because they are versatilely able to simultaneously capture linguistic differences, to capture perceptions of mutually separate but also intertwined historical trajectories, as well as to accommodate already-forming ethno-national consciousness. Accordingly, an important type of criteria upon which ethnic categorizations were reliant is linguistic differences or similarities. Ethnic institutions were established to stabilize perceptions about the ethnic composition of the multi-ethnic populations as well as to promote state-sponsored ethnographic knowledge about the multi-ethnic populations by means of monopolizing on what knowledge and symbols should be created, propagated, and transmitted within the territory of the respective multi-ethnic states.

Both Bolsheviks and CCP position themselves as super-ethnic parties with evolutionary understandings of “nations” and super-ethnic visions about the populations they seek to transform. Both keenly utilized already-forming spontaneous ethno-national consciousness in their revolutionary causes against respective prior regimes, at times even by eliciting the discourse of self-determination. For Bolsheviks, the prior regime was the Imperial Russia, while for the CCP, the prior regime was the Republic of China, whose nominal territory the Kuomintang was never able to fully control. At the outset of

their state-building processes, both Bolsheviks and CCP accommodated pre-existing ethno-national consciousness by enlisting support of ethnically-based categorizations both from intellectuals (“ethnographers”, Hirsch 2005, or “ethnologists”, Mullaney 2011) and ethno-nationally-minded elites. Such categorizations formally recognized and promoted some pre-existing tendencies in ethnic boundary making processes towards integration or differentiation while downplaying others. Operationally, by requiring individual citizens to register only one ethnic category on their governmentally-issued identification paper, ethnically-based categorizations had the effect of formally setting up inter-ethnic boundaries not only at the population level but also at the individual level.

Meanwhile, a flavor of “statehood” was achieved for certain ethno-nationally-minded local elites by means of establishing ethnic territorially-based autonomous entities designated for certain ethnic categories such that territorially-based self-determination be “satisfied” to some extent. Indigenization of party cadres was institutionalized to train elites of ethnic minority categories intended to be fluent in state ideologies and policies while capable of propagating such ideologies and policies to their “co-ethnics” in “titular” languages and scripts (Kaup 2000, 65). Based upon the teleological assumption that all populations will merge into nations in their transitions from pre-capitalist via capitalist towards socialist modes of productions, both Bolsheviks and CCP, actively and interactively with elites of ethnic minority categories, promoted ethno-national categories and consciousness of such categories among the populations. However, as new category-defining and category-managing institutions became consolidated, both Bolsheviks and CCP became more concerned with maintaining state-sponsored ethnic boundaries as well as with guarding against spontaneous attempts to alter state-defined ethnic boundaries.

Although it was usually ethnic minority elites' preferred vision that territories of ethno-regions be drawn in such a way that the titular ethnic category make up the majority of the population, the pre-existing demographic patterns usually featured ethnically, linguistically, and culturally heterogeneous populations in numerous localities. By dint of ethnic categorizations, such heterogeneity constantly translates into several officially recognized ethnic categories concentrated in the same ethno-region. With regard to many ethno-regions, Bolsheviks and CCP displayed explicit vision of integrating the ethno-regional economy into the national economy. Demographic heterogeneity combined with integrationist vision translated into the reality that various ethno-regions are demarcated either with a titular-category majority/plurality⁶⁴, or a majority-category majority/plurality⁶⁵, or a third-category majority/plurality⁶⁶, or multiple titular categories⁶⁷.

Table 3.1. Ethnic institutions of China and Russia compared (as of 2016)

Dimensions of ethnic institutions	Sub-dimensions of ethnic institutions	China (Unitarily multi-ethnic regime)	Russia (Federally multi-ethnic regime)
Category-defining institutions	State constitutionally defined as multi-ethnic or not	Yes	Yes

⁶⁴ For instance, Tibet/Xizang Autonomous Region in China (majority ethnic Tibetans) and Republic of Tiva in Russia (majority ethnic Tuvans).

⁶⁵ For instance, Republic of Bashkortostan in Russia (plurality ethnic Russians) and Nei Mongol Autonomous Region in China (majority ethnic Han).

⁶⁶ For instance, Kyzylsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture of China (majority ethnic Uyghurs).

⁶⁷ For instance, Republic of Dagestan of Russia (Avar, Lezgin, Dargin, Kumyk, Lak, etc. as co-titular) and Longsheng Various Nationalities Autonomous County of GZAR, China (Yao, Miao, Dong as co-titular).

	Population officially categorized ethnically or not (e.g. in censuses)	Yes	Yes
	Citizenship restricted to one ethnic category or not	No	No
	Immigration prioritizing certain ethnic categories or not	No (Non-ethnically-based prioritizations present)	No (Non-ethnically-based prioritizations present)
Category-managing institutions	Ethnicity indicated on governmentally-issued identification paper or not	Yes	No
	Ethnic territorially based autonomy designated for certain ethnic minorities or not	Yes	Yes
	Ethno-federalism or not	No	Yes
	Massive recruitment and trainings of ethnic-minority cadres or not	Yes	Yes (more at the ethno-regional level)
	More than one language accorded with official status at the subnational level or not	Yes	Yes
	State-sponsored institutions for the production and reproduction of ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols or not	Yes	Yes (more at the ethno-regional level)

Ethnically-based affirmative action in practice or not	Yes (formal)	Yes (informal)
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Russia

Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic under the Soviet Union

1) Category-defining institutions

After the October Revolution, Bolsheviks made it one of their major missions to fundamentally change the situation of those so-called “non-Russian” (Russian: *nerusskie*) populations as well as to resolve the “nationality question” (Russian: *natsional’nyi vopros*) within the territory of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (hereafter RSFSR)⁶⁸. Several principles with regard to how the Bolshevik state promised to conduct nationalities-related policies was laid in the 1917 *Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia*: equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to self-determination (Russian: *pravo na samoopredeleniye*) and even to secession (Russian: *otdeleniye*), abolition of ethnically-based or ethno-religiously based restrictions and privileges, and the free development of ethnic minorities (Russian: *svobodnoe razvitiye natsional’nykh men’shinstv*)⁶⁹.

In the 1918 constitution of the RSFSR, an incipient ethno-federal principle was promulgated, defining RSFSR as a federation of nationality-based soviet republics

⁶⁸ Oleg I. Chistyakov, “The making of the USSR Constitution,” [in Russian] http://constitution.garant.ru/science-work/modern/3988990/chapter/1/#block_100 (accessed July 31, 2017). RSFSR was subsequently reorganized as USSR.

⁶⁹ Yosif Dzhugashvili-Stalin and Vladimir Ul’yanov, *Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia* [in Russian], <http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Etext/DEKRET/peoples.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017).

(Russian: *sovietskaya natsional'naya respublika*) in Article 2⁷⁰. Moreover, in Article 22, the RSFSR recognizes equal rights of its citizens irrespective of their racial or ethnic affiliations while declaring as unconstitutional the establishing of privileges on the basis of race or ethnicity, the oppression of ethnic minorities, and the restriction of their equal rights⁷¹. Generally speaking, at the beginning of their state-building ventures, despite that the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) was itself unitarily organized, Bolsheviks' vision of the Soviet state was moving towards allowing ethnic minorities self-determination as well as towards building more sophisticated structure of the state (Russian: *uslozhneniye formy gosudarstvennogo edinstva*)⁷² to accommodate the culturally and ethnically heterogeneous character of the RSFSR. Then who should be counted as the non-Russian populations? Who were entitled to self-determination?

The “nationality question” confronting the Bolsheviks pertains to how to build socialism in a geographically vast, multi-ethnic landscape populated by populations, whether settled or nomadic, with a multitude of pre-existing linguistic, confessional, and ethnic affiliations (Hirsch 2005, 5), how to reconcile Bolsheviks' anti-imperialist ideology with the necessity to maintain the territory of the former Imperial Russia (5) as well as how to secure involvement in the socialist experiments of the culturally heterogeneous populations (5). In response, Bolsheviks started enlisting support from former imperial experts such as ethnographers, economists, and ethnic non-Russian elites (5). Based upon

⁷⁰ *Constitution of the RSFSR (adopted by All-Russia Congress of Soviets on June 10, 1918)* [in Russian], available at <http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1918/chapter/1/> (accessed July 31, 2017).

⁷¹ *Constitution of the RSFSR (adopted by All-Russia Congress of Soviets on June 10, 1918)* [in Russian], available at http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1918/chapter/5/#block_2100 (accessed July 31, 2017).

⁷² Oleg I. Chistyakov, “The making of the USSR Constitution,” [in Russian] http://constitution.garant.ru/science-work/modern/3988990/chapter/1/#block_100 (accessed July 31, 2017).

the progressive tenet that all peoples can evolve and thrive and upon the conviction that it is possible to engineer history and to turn theories into reality, Bolsheviks found it necessary to produce and to reproduce knowledge about the cultural heterogeneity of the populations now under their control (6-7).

With the establishment of Commission for the Study of the Tribal Composition of the Population of Russia (Russian: *komissiya po izucheniyu plemennogo sostava naseleniya Rossii*) in 1917 (7), the RSFSR embarked on its ventures of ethnically categorizing the populations. In that regard, the Bolsheviks promoted state-sponsored evolutionism while accommodating and manipulating ethno-national consciousness that had already been forming. State-sponsored evolutionism holds that the Soviet state was supposed to accelerate the social evolution of populations and to engineer formations of “nationalities” (Russian: *natsional’nost’*) in areas where clan and tribally-based identities prevailed and where local people seemed to lack national consciousness. In that regard, ethnographers, in cooperation with ethnic non-Russian elites and with the state, demarcated inter-ethnic boundaries as well as official languages, historical narratives, and so forth for each ethnic category, while amalgamating clans and tribes first into “tribal federations” (Russian: *narodnost’*), then into “nationalities” (8), then into putatively socio-economically more developed “nations” (Russian: *natsiya*) (9). Meanwhile, spontaneous group-making and nation-building attempts among ethnic non-Russian elites were rarely tolerated, usually denounced as “bourgeois nationalism”, and repressed (9-10).

In the processes of ethnic categorizations, two types of knowledge were created, i.e. academic knowledge and local knowledge. Academic knowledge refers to what

professional ethnographers, anthropologists, geographers, and other experts collected and compiled to facilitate governmental work (10). In producing such knowledge, a new discipline called *etnografia* emerged under the Soviet authority, encompassing geography, archaeology, physical anthropology, and linguistics (10). Local knowledge refers to what local elites submitted to the central-state about the geography and demography of their specific localities (10). Both ethnographic experts and local elites helped the Soviet state generate official ethnic categories (11). The Soviet state then used ethnographic knowledge to justify its political decisions (11). More specifically, ethnographers were usually charged with explaining politically-motivated decisions in putatively “scientific” terms, with assisting in subordinating the population to state authority, and with establishing legitimacy for official schemes of ethnic categorizations (308).

Notably, USSR’s ethnic categorizations care more about various populations’ “consciousness” (307) than about their phenotypical traits. Accordingly, USSR’s list of officially recognized ethnic categories experienced revisions throughout the Soviet period (307). On the 1927 list, a total of 172 categories were recognized as tribal federations, or *narodnost’* (134). These *narodnost’* then were merged into 62 *natsional’nost’* and 30 *natsional’nyi men’shinstvo*, as recognized in the 1939 USSR census (333-335) under Stalin. In the 1959 USSR census, 109 categories including 78 *natsional’nost’* and 31 *narodnost’* were recognized, whereon certain categories removed from the 1939 census were placed back (320). Nevertheless, the number of categories in the 1959 census was not as high as that in the 1927 census, which certain ethnographers attributed to “processes of assimilation and consolidation” (321). In the 1970 census, 104 categories

including 73 *natsional'nost'* and 31 *narodnost'* were recognized (322). The number dropped further to 101 categories including 68 *natsional'nost'* and 33 *narodnost'* in the 1979 census (322). During the period of *glasnost'* and *perestroika*, the discourse about self-determination gained popularity again, and the number of ethnic categories rose back to 128 including 102 *natsional'nost'* and 26 *narodnost'* in the 1989 USSR census (323-324).

Throughout the Soviet era, citizenship was not restricted to one ethnic category, and immigration policies did not prioritize specific ethnic categories. However, deprivation of citizenship was practiced, targeting specific ethnic categories, which culminated in NKVD's⁷³ preparation of lists of “enemy nations” or “unreliable peoples” accused of “anti-Soviet activities” during World War II (307) and in the mass deportation of ethnic Koreans, Finns, Volga Germans, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Karachay, Kalmyks, Crimean Tatars, Greeks, Kurds, Meskhetian Turks, etc. NKVD wielded the authority to determine which categories will be added to or removed from such lists (307).

Compared to Western practices, USSR did not reify racial categories either in censuses or on internal passports. In effect, USSR's official conceptualization of “race” and ethnicity was among the most progressive of the time. To address the varying levels of modernization across the populations of the USSR, the Soviet state emphasizes the potential in all ethnic populations to develop into equal outcomes. To counter Nazi Germany's assumptions that “race” and ethnicity overlap and that race has an impact upon “historical processes”, Soviet ethnographers clearly distinguished race from

⁷³ Abbreviation in Russian for *Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennix Del*, USSR People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.

ethnicity. They argued that peoples of one race could be members of different nationalities, that all nationalities were comprised of people of various racial origins, that “racial types” were rather “abstractions” extrapolated from the “variations of racial traits” found within nationalities (Hirsch 2005, 266). Moreover, the Soviet authority explicitly used the term “colonization” (Russian: *kolonizatsiya*), which can be understood as the reorganization of the territories and economies of the entire Soviet Union in accordance with a central-state plan to develop local productive forces in a coordinated manner (90).

2) Category-managing institutions

People’s Commissariat for Nationalities (Russian: *Narodnyi Komissariat po Delam Natsional’nostei*, or Narkomnats) was a self-standing, ministry-level state organ established by the Bolsheviks, overseeing the management of “nationality questions” within the territory of first the RSFSR and later the USSR between 1917 and 1923⁷⁴. Stalin chaired Narkomnats throughout this period (Martin 2001, 3). To supervise Bolsheviks’ relations towards the Muslim populations of the RSFSR, Central Muslim Commissariat⁷⁵ (hereafter CMC, Russian: *Tsentral’nyi Musul’manskii Komissariat*) was created under Narkomnats. The first head of the CMC was an ethnic Tatar revolutionary, Mullanur Wakhitov. Another ethnic Tatar revolutionary, Mirsəyet Soltangaliev, was the second head of the CMC (Gizzatullin and Sharafutdinov 1998, 11-12). In 1920, CMC

⁷⁴ Bashkir Encyclopedia, “People’s Commissariat for Nationalities,” [in Russian], <http://башкирская-энциклопедия.рф/index.php/2-statya/14820-narodnyi-komissariat-po-dela-natsionalnostej> (accessed July 31, 2017).

⁷⁵ Bashkir Encyclopedia, “Central Muslim Commissariat,” [in Russian], <http://башкирская-энциклопедия.рф/index.php/2-statya/1166-tsentralnyi-musulmanskij-komissariat> (accessed July 31, 2017).

was re-designated⁷⁶ as the representative office of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (TASSR) in Moscow.

Then at the 12th congress of the Bolsheviks in 1923, three interrelated policies towards ethnic non-Russians were formulated. A first of these policies is the “national-territorial principle,” which connotes creating ethnic territorially-based autonomous entities for ethnic minority categories within a federated system (Liber 1991, 16). A second policy entails creating separate communist parties for certain union republics (16). A third one is called *korenizatsiya* (indigenization), which pertains to elevating the formal status of non-Russian languages and cultures, training and promoting ethnic non-Russian cadres into key positions of the party, the state, and trade unions, and reconciling the culturally more Russified urban areas with the culturally more non-Russian countryside (16). It was estimated that massive industrialization will foster proletariats for each ethnic population under the principle of “national in form, socialist in content” (17).

On one hand, under the token of *korenizatsiya*, the Soviet state promoted the standardization of non-Russian ethnic languages, invested in anti-illiteracy campaigns, expanded the use of non-Russian languages in knowledge production and reproduction. These contributed to the forming of ethnic non-Russian intelligentsia and of epistemic communities that correspond to different ethnic languages (18-19). On the other hand, heightened level of urbanization strengthened ethno-national consciousness among ethnic non-Russians who migrated into cities. Some ethnic non-Russian cadres tended to interpret *korenizatsiya* in terms of emphasizing differences (21) and expanding non-

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Russian cultural, linguistic space in cities, which was at odds with the central-state's interpretation of *korenizatsiya* in terms of ethnic non-Russian cadres' building cross-ethnic, class-based consciousness by reaching out to ethnic non-Russian populations in the countryside (21). Among such ethnic non-Russian cadres, many were accused by Stalin of "national communism". Eventually *korenizatsiya* was discontinued in the 1930s (Gorenburg 2003, 46), and a large number of ethnic minority cadres were purged, many executed.

Nevertheless, certain institutional legacies of *korenizatsiya* survived the Great Purge and became pillars of the USSR's ethnic institutions. Examples of such legacies include, but are not confined to, ethnic territorially-based autonomy, standardized ethnic languages and scripts, state-sponsored institutions for the production and reproduction of ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols, and ethnically-based affirmation actions. In the post-WWII years, training and promotion of ethnic minority cadres were restored and reinforced to the extent that such cadres became pivotal in center-periphery relations where ethnic, economic, and territorially-based cleavages coincide (Burg 1990, 24). Increasing numbers of minority elites achieved key posts in both ethno-regional-level and central-state apparatuses during Brezhnev's term as general secretary (25). However, as various ethnic populations became more equalized in terms of education profiles and Russian-language proficiency, opinions against preferential treatments of ethnic minority cadres also emerged. For instance, the renowned Soviet ethnographer, Iulian Bromlei, was said to have suggested that ethnic identity should not be the basis of either privilege or discrimination in the selection and appointment of cadres (27).

The designation of ethnic territorially-based autonomy under an ethno-federal framework for non-Russian ethnic categories started in the late 1910s, well prior to its being fully enshrined in the 1936 USSR Constitution. Four tiers of ethno-regions were established on a hierarchy (Gorenburg 2003, 31), including union republics (or soviet socialist republics, hereafter SSR), autonomous soviet socialist republics (hereafter ASSR), autonomous oblast' (hereafter AOb), and autonomous okrug (hereafter AOk). Union republics were fully sovereign (31), and one of them, RSFSR, was designated for the ethnic majority category, ethnic Russians. ASSRs were partially sovereign and subordinate to SSRs (31), while AOb and AOks were not sovereign. ASSRs were provincial-level units, while AOb and AOks were usually administratively subordinate to provincial-level *krai* ("territories"). Each of the SSRs and ASSRs were allowed to enact its own constitution and to promulgate the language associated with its titular ethnic category as official alongside Russian. Nevertheless, regarding the relations between RSFSR and its constituent ASSRs, the legal codes of RSFSR could override ASSR-level legal codes in case of contradictions⁷⁷. AOb and AOks had no authority to enact constitutions.

The ethno-federal system of ethnic territorially-based autonomy became partially enshrined in the 1924 USSR constitution where the state organs of SSRs were concisely defined⁷⁸. In the first section of that constitution, the USSR was defined as "voluntary" association of peoples of equal rights, and the right to freely secede from the union was

⁷⁷ *Constitution of the RSFSR on April 12, 1978* [in Russian], available at http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1978/red_1978/5478721/chapter/8/#block_3800 (accessed July 31, 2017).

⁷⁸ *Constitution of the USSR (approved by the second Congress of Soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924)* [in Russian], available at http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1924/red_1924/185480/chapter/1/#block_1000 (accessed July 31, 2017).

guaranteed to each of its constituent SSRs⁷⁹. It even stipulated that future polities taking the form of “Soviet Socialist Republic” were welcome to join USSR (Russian: *dostup v Soyuz otkryt*)⁸⁰. According to that constitution, the SSRs of the USSR were the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, Turkmen SSR, Uzbek SSR, and Tadzhik SSR⁸¹. In the 1936 USSR Constitution, the state organs of both SSRs (in *Glava IV*⁸² and *VI*⁸³) and ASSRs (in *Glava VII*⁸⁴) were demarcated. In the 1977 USSR Constitution, all the four tiers of ethno-regions were explicitly enshrined⁸⁵.

On May 27, 1920, the incumbent chair of the Council of the People’s Commissariats of the RSFSR, Vladimir Lenin, and the incumbent chair of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Mikhail Kalinin, signed into effect the decree on the founding of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Faizullin 2015, 34). TASSR was the second ASSR established under RSFSR, immediately after the founding of Bashkir ASSR (hereafter BASSR) in 1919 (Russian: *malaya Bashkiriya*, 25). The original plan, advocated by such Bolsheviks as Mirsayet Soltangaliev, was to create a Tatar-Bashkir co-titular Republic covering parts of the Imperial Russia’s Ufa, Orenburg, Kazan, Perm, Vyatka, Simbir, and Samara provinces (21). However, the vision of one republic jointly

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² *Constitution of the USSR (approved by the order of the Extraordinary eighth Congress of Soviets of the USSR on December 5, 1936)* [in Russian], available at http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1936/red_1936/3958676/chapter/4/#block_1400 (accessed July 31, 2017).

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ *Constitution of the USSR (adopted at the extraordinary seventh session of the ninth convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on October 7, 1977)* [in Russian], available at http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1977/red_1977/5478732/ (accessed July 31, 2017).

designated for two ethnic categories did not materialize, due to the disputes between the leaders of the Tatar and Bashkir ethno-national movements (21) and due to the reluctance of the supreme leadership of the RSFSR to create “huge ethnic republic” (Russian: *bol'shaya natsional'naya respublika*).

The originally intended territory of TASSR was to include both cities of Kazan and Ufa (26) and a significant portion that later became part of BASSR. The Bolsheviks justified the assignment of the city of Ufa and its surrounding areas to BASSR in terms of rewarding ethnic Bashkir elites' support of the revolutionary cause while facilitating the administrative and economic integration of the BASSR (29). The central leadership of the Bolsheviks also prepared official “data” of ethnic demography (29), in which the proportion of ethnic Tatars in Ufa and its vicinities was significantly reduced and the proportion of ethnic Bashkirs was significantly augmented (29-30). Eventually, Ufa was designated as the capital of BASSR, while Kazan was designated as the capital of TASSR. At the outset of TASSR, Tatar-speaking populations (including those categorized as Tatar, Bashkir, Teptiar, and Mishar) made up 54.1% (26) of the total population, while those categorized as Chuvash, Mari, Mordvin, and Votyak (subsequently Udmurt) while competent in the Tatar language made up 9.1% of the total population (27). Ethnic Russians made up 35.3% of the TASSR population (27).

Throughout the 1920s, ASSRs founded under RSFSR include the Kirghiz (subsequently renamed Kazakh) ASSR, Volga German ASSR, Crimean ASSR, Dagestan ASSR, Mountain (Gorskaya) ASSR, Yakut ASSR, Buryat-Mongol ASSR, Karelia ASSR,

Chuvash ASSR, Kirghiz ASSR⁸⁶. Kazakh ASSR and Kirghiz ASSR were elevated to the status of SSR in 1936. Karelia ASSR was elevated to an SSR of USSR in 1940 and relegated back to ASSR in 1956. Gorskaya ASSR in the North Caucasus were dissolved into several AObs designated for various ethnic categories. Buryat-Mongol ASSR was renamed Buryat ASSR in 1958. Volga German ASSR was abolished in 1941, while Crimean ASSR was abolished in 1945, as ethnic Volga Germans and ethnic Crimean Tatars were collectively deported to Central Asia and Siberia.

Throughout the 1930s, Mordovia ASSR, Udmurt ASSR, Kalmyk ASSR, Chechen-Ingush ASSR, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, Komi ASSR, Mari ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR were created⁸⁷. Between 1944 and 1957, the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR was renamed Kabardin ASSR, as ethnic Balkars were deported to Central Asia. Kalmyk ASSR was abolished in 1943 and restored in 1958. Chechen-Ingush ASSR was abolished in 1944 and restored in 1957. Tuva ASSR was created in 1961, and the Gorno-Altay ASSR was created in 1990.

During the Soviet period, ethnicity was required to be indicated on governmentally-issued identification papers called “internal passports” first introduced in 1932 (Gorenburg 2003, 29). The registration of ethnicity of individual citizens was initially based upon consciousness, or “self-identification” (29). However, citizens were usually prohibited from switching to other ethnic categories once the passport had been issued (29). Ethnicity on passports was transmitted from parents to children, and those whose parents are of different ethnic categories were required to choose only one category (30). Ethnicity indicated on internal passports systematically reified officially-recognized

⁸⁶ Aleksandr M. Prokhorov ed. 1973-1983, *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

ethnic categories and somehow contributed to the growing sense of groupness among those who share ethnic categories on their internal passports. In the Soviet era, passports issued by the SSRs were bilingual, using Russian and the republic's titular language. ASSRs, most of which were located in RSFSR, were not granted that privilege (Arel 2001, 9).

According to Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver (1990) who studied school textbooks of the Soviet era, the Soviet state's policies towards non-Russian languages can largely be summarized into three periods:

1917-1938, period of egalitarian development of minority languages whose first half overlapped with the promotion of *korenizatsiya*. During this period, the Soviet authority at the SSR or ASSR levels worked on constructing new alphabets, opening titular-language schools, and limiting the use of the Russian language in non-Russians-speaking areas. The learning of Russian was not even made mandatory in schools (108).

1938-1959, period of differentiated bilingual education. During this time, Russian became mandatory in schools, whereas titular languages still functioned as the primary medium of instruction for titular populations in various ethno-regions. The highest grade for which a given titular language could serve as the primary medium of instruction remained stable and was more contingent upon the titular population's formal status in the ethno-federal system. Meanwhile, ASSR-level titular populations tended to receive education in Russian when completing their secondary education (108).

1959-1985, the period of highly differentiated bilingual education. During this period, the learning of Russian became formally voluntary for parents to choose for their

schoolchildren. Two types of titular-language schools were in operation, schools where titular languages served as medium of instruction and schools where titular languages were taught as subjects. This period saw the significant decrease in the number of non-Russian languages as medium of instruction as well as decrease in the highest-grade level at which non-Russian languages served as medium of instruction (109). The overall decline of titular-language schooling was associated with the mass loss of males in World War II contributing to sex imbalance, which in turn heightened inter-ethnic marriages (110-114). The decline was also associated with emulation of either ethnic Russian or Russian-speaking role models (110-114).

Overall, according to the officially prescribed scope of use for languages, the linguistic hierarchy of the USSR was largely five-tiered. Russian solely occupied the highest tier, functioning as the *lingua franca* of the populations of the Soviet Union. At the second tier were titular literary languages of the SSRs, such as Georgian, Armenian, Estonian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Azerbaijani, etc. At the third tier were literary languages of the ASSRs, such as Tatar, Bashkir, Yakut, Chuvash, etc. The fourth tier consists of written languages associated with those ethnic categories without ASSRs designated for them, such as Karachay, Khakas, Khanty, Vepsian, etc. The fifth tier encompasses various unwritten languages, dialects, or vernaculars (109). Within RSFSR, almost all titular languages of ASSRs (e.g. Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Udmurt, Ossetian, Yakut, Buryat, Chechen) shifted to the Cyrillic alphabet in the 1930s and the 1940s.

A variety of types of state-sponsored institutions for the production and reproduction of ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols were established during the Soviet period, mostly in ethno-regions, such as comprehensive universities, technical institutes,

pedagogical institutes, ethno-regional branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Gorenburg 2003, 39-43). Publishing houses of books, newspapers, magazines in titular languages were established in various ethno-regions (43-46). Other institutions include titular-language theaters and professional unions of cultural workers like writers, journalists, composers, cinematographers, theater workers, architects, and artists (44). These institutions were engaged in the standardization of ethnic minority languages and scripts, the constructing of historical narratives, the publication of works in ethnic minority languages and scripts, etc. A system of ethnically-based affirmative action programs was initiated under *korenizatsiya* in the 1920s. Quotas earmarked for titular categories in party-state positions, trade union positions, judiciary positions, factory worker recruitment, admissions into higher education institutions, and so forth were set and practiced in ethno-regions throughout the Soviet period, even after *korenizatsiya* was discontinued (46).

Ironically, Soviet-era ethnic institutions laid the institutional foundation for the demise of the USSR as well as for the ethno-federal structure of the post-Soviet Russia. The disintegration of the USSR took the form of SSRs declaring independence and morphing into sovereign states in the early 1990s, and the post-Soviet Russian Federation largely inherited and kept intact the administrative arrangements of the Soviet-era RSFSR.

Post-Soviet Russian Federation

1) Category-defining institutions

The post-Soviet Russian Federation (RF) has been defined as a multi-ethnic federation according to the Constitution adopted after a referendum in 1993⁸⁸. Accordingly, citizenship of the Russian Federation is not restricted to one ethnic category. In terms of immigration policies, though not practicing exclusions based upon ethnicity, RF does prioritize *sootechestvennik*, or rather, ethnic Russians or individuals of other ethnicities whose titular ethno-regions are constituent units of the RF. For instance, ethnic Kazan Tatars are allowed to immigrate back from other former SSRs (Shevel 2011, 5) in the form of “repatriation” (Russian: *vozrashcheniye*)⁸⁹.

After the dissolution of the USSR, two country-wide population censuses were conducted in the Russian Federation in 2002 and in 2010 consecutively. In both censuses, the population was categorized ethnically, whereas individuals’ ethnic affiliation was largely recorded out of self-identification. As a result, including those categories stabilized during the Soviet era, the total number of ethnic categories in the 2002 census shot up to 182, with a number of sub-categories (e.g. *Kryasheni*) subsumed under broader ethnic categories (e.g. *Tatary*). The 2010 census largely used the same number of ethnic categories as in 2002. In addition to ethnicity, both 2002 and 2010 censuses also surveyed individuals’ self-identified “native languages” (Russian: *rodnoi yazyk*) and command of languages (Russian: *vladeniye yazykami*). Both censuses also explicitly made distinctions between “less populous indigenous populations” (Russian: *korennye malochislennye*

⁸⁸ President of Russia, *Constitution of the Russian Federation* [in Russian], <http://constitution.kremlin.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017)

⁸⁹ Order of the President of the Russian Federation on June 22, 2006, “On measures in terms of how to contribute to the voluntary resettlement in the Russian Federation of *sootechestvennik* residing abroad” [in Russian], *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, <https://rg.ru/2006/06/28/ukaz-pereselenie.html> (accessed July 31, 2017).

narody) such as Telengit, Nenets, Mansi, Koryak, Vepsian, Shor, Dolgan, Chukchi, etc. and “most populous nationalities” (Russian: *naibolee mnogochislennye natsional'nosti*).

2) Category-managing institutions

RF citizens' ethnicity is no longer indicated on governmentally-issued identification papers. In 1997, the RF central-state announced that its new internal passports would no longer mark bearers' ethnic affiliation (Russian: *natsional'nost'*). Officials in several ethnic republics including Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Dagestan and Kabardino-Balkaria (Arel 2001, 6) announced that they would disregard the new federal regulation by adding an extra page indicating citizens' ethnicity to the internal passports issued in these republics (6). The standoff persisted until Vladimir Putin's first term as the president of RF, when the federal government was determined to enforce the passport changes in early 2001 (8). Bashkortostan appealed to the RF constitutional court, while Tatarstan eventually agreed that ethnicity would not be indicated on its future internal passports. To reward such a concession, the federal government allowed Tatarstan and Bashkortostan to insert four additional pages printed in their titular languages to the internal passports, which rendered such passports bilingual (8-9).

During the last days of the RSFSR, an important impact of chains of ethno-national mobilizations in various ethno-regions was the adoption of sovereignty declarations (Gorenburg 2003, 201) by ASSR governments. If the incumbent political elites of the ASSRs viewed such declarations as a way to demand more formal autonomy from Moscow, then some among the ethno-nationally-minded activists might have regarded

them as pathways to full statehood and self-determination (201). Sovereignty declarations started from Tatar ASSR on August 30, 1990 (202), followed by such ASSRs as Yakutia, Bashkiria, Chuvashia, etc. TASSR's declaration of sovereignty formally elevated its political status from an ASSR to an SSR of the USSR while renaming the republic "Tatarstan." The declaration also promulgated that Tatarstan's sovereignty should belong to the "Tatar nation" and to the "entire people of the republic" (202). On November 7, 1992, the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan was adopted (206). In February 1994, RT's unique status (Graney 2009, 38) within the Russian Federation was formally affirmed in the legally-binding power-sharing *Treaty on Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Mutual Delegation of Powers between Bodies of Public Authority of the Russian Federation and Bodies of Public Authority of the Republic of Tatarstan* reached between the federal government and Tatarstan.

The treaty symbolizes the extraordinary level of formal autonomy to which Tatarstan is entitled vis-à-vis the federal government while also contributing to the institutionalization of asymmetric federalism in Russia. A number of other constituent units of RF also sought and reached⁹⁰ power-sharing treaties with the federal government, but only the federal-Tatarstan treaty was renewed. A second treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan was signed into force in July 2007 (147). Bearing the name *Treaty on Delimitation of Jurisdictional Subjects and Powers between Bodies of Public Authority of the Russian Federation and Bodies of Public Authority of the Republic of Tatarstan*, the 2007 Treaty RFRT dropped the term "sovereignty" and was valid for ten

⁹⁰ In addition to Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, 46 constituent units of RF sought and reached bilateral treaties or agreements with the federal government by 1998 (Stoner-Weiss 2004, 313).

years from its date of adoption (Administration of the President of Republic Tatarstan, 2007). Nevertheless, the Treaty RFRT 2007 was not renewed in 2017.

In the rest of post-Soviet Russia, all the Soviet-period ASSRs were elevated to the status of republics under Yeltsin' presidency. The soviet-period AObs of Altai, Adyghea, Karachay-Cherkessia, and Khakassia were elevated to the status of republics as well. In 1992, Ingushetia established itself as a republic separate from the former Chechen-Ingush ASSR. In November 1991, Chechnya declared independence from the USSR, but power struggles among ethnic Chechen political and military elites ensued (Stoner-Weiss 2004, 304-305). In 1994, the first Chechen War broke out between Moscow and Chechnya-based militants, which ended in 1996, when Moscow did not restore its control over Chechnya. It succeeded in doing so only after the second Chechen War (1999-2000) by installing a pro-Moscow clan in the most powerful positions of Chechnya. In 2003, a constitution was adopted out of a referendum (307) in Chechnya, which stipulates Russia's sovereignty over Chechnya. In 2014, Crimea was annexed into RF and designated as the newest republic of RF. Of the soviet-period AOks, only four were retained by the end of 2010. The Jewish AOb in the Far East of Russia was not elevated into a republic.

Table 3.2. Republics, autonomous oblast', and autonomous okrugs in Russia (as of 2016)

Name of the ethno-region	Year established	Titular ethnic category	Official languages/scripts	Capital	Five largest ethnic populations (2010)
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Republic of Bashkortostan	1919 (established as an ASSR)	Bashkir	Russian, Bashkir	Ufa	Russian (36.1%), Bashkir (29.5%), Tatar (25.4%), Chuvash (2.7%), Mari (2.6%)
Republic of Tatarstan	1920 (established as an ASSR)	Tatar	Russian, Tatar	Kazan	Tatar (53.2%), Russian (39.7%), Chuvash (3.1%), Udmurt (0.6%), Mordvin (0.5%)
Republic of Dagestan	1921 (established as an ASSR)	Avar, Dargin, Lezgin, Kumyk, Lak, Tabasaran, Nogai, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur	Russian, various titular languages	Makhachkala	Avar (29.4%), Dargin (17%), Kumyk (14.9%), Lezgin (13.3%), Lak (5.6%), Azerbaijani (4.5%), Tabasaran (4.1%)
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	1922 (established as an ASSR)	Yakut	Russian, Yakut	Yakutsk	Yakut (49.9%), Russian (37.8%), Evenki (2.2%), Ukrainian

					(2.2%), Even (1.6%)
Republic of Buryatia	1923 (established as an ASSR)	Buryat	Russian, Buryat	Ulan-Ude	Russian (66.1%), Buryat (30%), Tatar (0.7%), Ukrainian (0.6%), Soyot (0.4%)
Republic of Karelia	1923 (Karelian- Finnish SSR between 1940-1956, relegated to an ASSR in RSFSR in 1956)	Karelian	Russian only (Article 11 of the Constitution of Republic of Karelia)	Petrozavodsk	Russian (82.2%), Karelian (7.4%), Belorussian (3.8%), Ukrainian (2%), Finn (1.4%)
Republic of Chuvashia	1925 (established as an ASSR)	Chuvash	Russian, Chuvash	Cheboksary	Chuvash (67.7%), Russian (26.9%), Tatar (2.8%), Mordvin (1.1%), Ukrainian (0.4%)
Republic of Mordovia	1934 (established as an ASSR)	Mordvin	Russian, Moksha, Erzya	Saransk	Russian (53.4%), Mordvin (40%), Tatar (5.2%), Ukrainian (0.4%)

Republic of Udmurtia	1934 (established as an ASSR)	Udmurt	Russian, Udmurt	Izhevsk	Russian (62.2%), Udmurt (28%), Tatar (6.7%), Ukrainian (0.6%), Mari (0.6%)
Republic of Kalmykia	1935 (established as an ASSR, abolished in 1943, re-established in 1958)	Kalmyk	Russian, Kalmyk	Elista	Kalmyk (57.4%), Russian (30.2%), Dargin (2.7%), Kazakh (1.7%), Meskhetian-Turk (1.3%)
Republic of Chechnya	1936 (established as an ASSR by merging in 1934 Chechen AOb and Ingush AOb, abolished in 1944, re-established in 1957)	Chechen	Russian, Chechen	Grozny	Chechen (95.3%), Russian (1.9%), Kumyk (1%), Avar (0.4%)
Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria	1936 (established as an ASSR, Balkars deported in 1944)	Kabardian, Balkar	Russian, Kabardian, Balkar	Nalchik	Kabardian (57.2%), Russian (22.5%), Balkar (12.6%), Turk (1.6%),

					Ossetian (1.1%)
Republic of Komi	1936 (established as an ASSR)	Komi	Russian, Komi (Zyrian)	Syktyvkar	Russian (65.1%), Komi (23.7%), Ukrainian (4.2%), Tatar (1.3%), Belorussian (1%)
Republic of Mari El	1936 (established as an ASSR)	Mari	Russian, Mari	Yoshkar-Ola	Russian (47.4%), Mari (43.9%), Tatar (5.8%), Chuvash (0.9%), Ukrainian (0.6%)
Republic of North Ossetia- Alania	1936 (established as an ASSR)	Ossetians	Russian, Ossetian	Vladikavkaz	Ossetian (65.1%), Russian (20.8%), Ingush (4%), Armenian (2.3%), Kumyk (2.3%)
Republic of Tiva	1961 (established as an ASSR, proclaimed as People's Republic of	Tuvan	Russian, Tuvan	Kyzyl	Tuvan (82%), Russian (16.3%)

	Tannu-Tuva in 1921, annexed into RSFSR in 1944)				
Republic of Altay	1990 (formerly an autonomous oblast' established in 1922, known as Oyrot AOb between 1922-1948)	Various indigenous categories	Russian, Altay (various indigenous Turkic languages)	Gorno- Altaisk	Russian (56.6%), Altay (33.9%), Kazakh (6.2%), Kumandin (0.5%), Ukrainian (0.5%)
Republic of Adygea	1991 (formerly an autonomous oblast' established in 1922)	Adyghe (Circassian)	Russian, Adyghe	Maykop	Russian (63.6%), Adyghe (25.2%), Armenian (3.7%), Ukrainian (1.4%), Kurd (1.1%)
Republic of Karachay Cherkessia	1991 (formerly an autonomous oblast' established in 1922)	Karachay, Cherkess (Circassian)	Russian, Karachay, Cherkess	Cherkessk	Karachay (41%), Russian (31.6%), Cherkess (11.9%), Abazin (7.8%), Nogai (3.3%)
Republic of Khakassia	1991 (formerly an autonomous oblast'	Khakas	Russian, Khakas	Abakan	Russian (81.7%), Khakas (12.1%),

	established in 1930)				German (1.1%), Ukrainian (1%), Tatar (0.6%)
Republic of Ingushetia	1992 (separated from Chechen- Ingush ASSR)	Ingush	Russian, Ingush	Magas	Ingush (94.1%), Chechen (4.6%), Russian (0.8%)
Republic of Crimea	2014 (originally established as Crimea ASSR in 1921, abolished in 1945, assigned to Ukraine SSR in 1954, annexed by Russia in 2014)	None	Russian, Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar	Simferopol'	Russian, Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar
Jewish Autonomous Oblast'	1934	Jewish	Russian	Birobidzhan	Russian (92.7%), Ukrainian (2.8%), Jewish (1%), Tatar (0.5%), Belorussian (0.4%)
Nenets Autonomous Okrug	1929 (established as Nenets	Nenets	Russian	Naryan-Mar	Russian (66.1%), Nenets

	National Okrug)				(18.6%), Komi (9%), Ukrainian (2.5%), Belorussian (0.7%)
Yamalo- Nenets Autonomous Okrug	1930 (established as Yamal- Nenets National Okrug)	Nenets	Russian	Salekhard	Russian (61.7%), Ukrainian (9.7%), Nenets (5.9%), Tatar (5.6%), Khanty (1.9%)
Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug (Yugra)	1930 (established as Khanty- Mansi National Okrug)	Khanty, Mansi	Russian	Khanty- Mansk	Russian (68.1%), Tatar (7.6%), Ukrainian (6.4%), Bashkir (2.5%), Azerbaijani (1.8%), Khanty (1.3%)
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	1930 (established as Chukchi National Okrug)	Chukchi	Russian	Anadyr	Russian (52.5%), Chukchi (26.7%), Ukrainian (6%), Eskimo (3.2%), Even (2.9%)

Sources: Prokhorov, A.M., *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1973-1983); *All Russia Population Census 2010*, <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017); Federal Geodetics and Cartography Services, National Atlas of Russia (Moscow: Federal Geodetics and Cartography Services, Moscow); *Constitution of the Republic of Karelia*, http://www.gov.karelia.ru/gov/Constitution/mlaw01_c.html (accessed February 28, 2017);

President of Russia, *Constitution of the Russian Federation*, <http://constitution.kremlin.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017); *Compendium of USSR Laws and Edicts of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 1938-1956* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Yuridicheskoi Literatury, 1956); *Constitution of the RSFSR*, April 12, 1978, http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1978/red_1978/5478721/chapter/7/#block_3700 (accessed February 28, 2017).

In post-Soviet Russia, the promotion of titular languages has been more conspicuous in certain ethno-regions than in others. Except in Karelia, all republics have established the titular language as official alongside Russian. Only in Tatarstan has the learning of the titular language been made mandatory for all primary and secondary schoolchildren regardless of ethnicity. State-sponsored institutions for the production and reproduction of ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols have largely been the post-Soviet avatars of their predecessors but expanded in certain republics. More titular-language magazines, TVs, and radio programs have become available in republics like Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Yakutia, and Dagestan. Nevertheless, most of the institutions that produce ethnically-specific knowledge have been concentrated at the ethno-regional level, unlike in China where central-state-level ethnic cultural institutions (e.g. universities, press, and radio) are present in Beijing. Two federal-level state organs, Ministry of Regional Development and Federal Agency for Nationality Affairs⁹¹ were created under Vladimir Putin's third term as RF President to oversee issues related to ethnic republics and ethnic non-Russian populations.

Since ethnicity is no longer indicated on the internal passport of RF, affirmative actions based on internal passport is no longer feasible. However, at the ethno-regional level, ethnically-based affirmative actions in the forms of quota-setting in hiring and

⁹¹ President of Russia, "Executive Order on Federal Agency for Nationality Affairs," March 31, 2015, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/49043> (accessed July 31, 2017).

admissions are still in practice to varying extent. Individual citizens' perceptions about their own ethnicity and ethnicity of others remain stable in most of the ethno-regions, which in turn makes it possible for ethnically-based affirmation actions to continue informally in such ethno-regions as Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Yakutia, etc.

China

Pre-reform People's Republic of China

1) Category-defining institutions

In the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (hereafter CPRC) adopted in 1954, the PRC state was constitutionally defined as multi-ethnic (CPRC 1954, Article 3, Chinese: *duominzu guojia*)⁹². A formal qualification of the state as such has been kept in subsequent versions of the PRC constitution. Accordingly, PRC citizenship has never been restricted to one ethnic category. PRC's immigration policies, though prioritizing "overseas Chinese," formally does not prioritize specific ethnic categories⁹³.

The culturally, linguistically diverse populations found under the jurisdiction of PRC have been officially categorized ethnically in all of its conducted population censuses. However, throughout 1950s and the early 1960s, it was a major puzzle for the PRC state

⁹² The NPC of PRC, *Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1954)* [in Chinese], http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/wxzl/2000-12/26/content_4264.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

⁹³ Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the PRC State Council, *Regulation on Defining Huaqiao* ("Chinese" settled overseas but still bearing PRC passports), *Waiji Huaren* ("Chinese" bearing non-PRC passports), *Guiqiao* (overseas "Chinese" repatriated), *Qiaojuan* (family members of the foregoing three types of "Chinese") [in Chinese], <http://www.gqb.gov.cn/news/2015/1125/37146.shtml> (accessed July 31, 2017). Individuals "permanently" residing outside PRC may be legally determined as "overseas Chinese" if they are still bearing PRC citizenship, or if they used to be but no longer are PRC citizen, or if they can demonstrate that some of their ancestors were PRC citizens, or if they can demonstrate that some of their ancestors used to live within the PRC territory before the PRC was founded.

to determine which ethnic categories to officially endorse and promote as well as how ethnic categories should be assigned to each individual citizen. In this regard, the PRC state launched the so-called “Ethnic Classification Project” (Chinese: *minzu shibie*, Mullaney 2011, 3), by means of which the number, names, and compositions of officially recognized ethnic categories were established. Indeed, the very process of *minzu shibie* is *per se* part of the historical trajectory of each of the officially recognized ethnic categories, or concepts, to which *minzu shibie* gave rise (4).

Ethnologists, linguists, and certain prominent ethnic minority elites played a crucial role in establishing a paradigmatic status (11) to both the concept of “ethnicity” (Chinese: *minzu*) and ethnic categorizations. Among these intellectuals, the Hederian-Marxist approaches⁹⁴ to the study of demographic peculiarities of the populations within the territory of PRC were adapted. Admitting that certain populations had barely reached the developmental stage of capitalism and not yet meeting the criteria of “common language”, “common economic life”, and “common culture” and thus did not qualify as “nations” (Chinese: *minzu*; Russian: *natsiya*) and that some populations were not even qualifying as “nationalities” (Chinese: *minzu jituan*; Russian: *natsional’nost’*) or “tribal federations” (Chinese: *buzu*; Russian: *narodnost’*) due to a lack of group consciousness, these intellectuals decide to lump concepts like nations, nationalities, tribal federations altogether under the token of *minzu*. For instance, Lin Yaohua, an ethnologist who participated in the Ethnic Classification Project in Yunnan Province, circumvented the Stalinist conception of nations as emanating from a process of linguistic, territorial,

⁹⁴ Assuming that culturally-bounded ethnic groups will gradually merge into nations while advancing towards a socialist mode of production.

economic, and cultural integration unique to the capitalist mode of production (81), treated certain *minzu jituan* and certain *buzu* indiscriminately as *minzu jituan* under the teleological justification that *minzu jituan* will eventually morph into nations (83).

In this manner, many ethnic categories, or *minzu*, were formulated out of *minzu jituan*. In the meantime, the criteria for determining boundaries of *minzu jituan* regarding who should be included in the *minzu jituan* and who should be not is mostly linguistic, specifically by comparing collected word lists and summarized grammar (113).

Inevitably, the ways comparative linguistics were used in ethnic categorizations were more or less rife with experts' selective biases. As a result, certain ethnonyms⁹⁵ disappeared from official discourse, while certain ethnonyms⁹⁶ gained prominence in official discourse and have been taxonomically reified in censuses and household registrations. In the 1953 PRC population census, 39 ethnic categories were taxonomically recognized and reified, and the total population of those classified as “ethnic minority” constituted 5.89% of the total PRC population, including 1,017,299 with yet-to-be-classified ethnicity (Economic and Development Department of the PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission & Department of Integrated Statistics of the PRC National Bureau of Statistics 2011, 655-6). In the 1964 population census, 54⁹⁷ ethnic categories were taxonomically recognized and reified, and the total population of those classified as “ethnic minority” made up 5.77% of the total PRC population, including 32,411 with yet-to-be-classified ethnicity (655-6).

⁹⁵ Such as Taranchi, Solon, Nong, Nuosu, Sani.

⁹⁶ Such as Uyghur, Mongol, Zhuang, Tibetan, etc.

⁹⁷ Newly added ethnic categories include Tujia, She, Daur, Mulam (Mulao), Blang, Maonan, Gelao, Achang, Primi, Nu, Benglong (later De'ang), Gin (Vietnamese), Derung, Hezhen, Monba.

Language categorizations were also established hand in hand with ethnic categorizations. Language survey teams were dispatched to determine linguistic affiliations of various tongues within the territory of PRC (Dwyer 1998, 69). Based upon the stylized findings of language surveys as well as the consensus among ethnologist, linguists, and ethnic minority elites, official minority languages or dialects were established through prescriptive standardization (68). According to such prescriptive standardization, a linguistic hierarchy was laid out concerning which should be called languages (Chinese: *yuyan*), which should be called dialects (Chinese: *fangyan*), which should be called vernaculars (Chinese: *tuyu*). Standard orthographies were constructed and officially endorsed (77), and a baseline for how to classify and designate languages and linguistic groups (80) was set.

According to the officially prescribed scope of use of various tongues, the linguistic hierarchy was largely five-tiered (71). At the first tier is the national *lingua franca*, combining Mandarin Chinese with the Simplified Chinese characters plus Hanyu Pinyin. The second tier consists of ethno-regional-level standardized literary languages such as Uyghur, Mongolian, Tibetan (Amdo, Ü-Tsang, and Kham), and Zhuang. Then comes the third tier of other standardized literary languages among ethnic minorities such as Korean, Kazakh, Yi (Sichuan), Dai Li, Dai Na, Kyrgyz, Xibe (Xinjiang), Oiratic Mongolic (Xinjiang), etc. The fourth tier consists of other languages either used in radio and TV broadcastings or taught in schools as subjects, such as Sinitic “dialects” and “vernaculars” (Cantonese, Wu, Minnan, Mindong, Hakka, etc.), Miao, Hani, Lisu, Lahu, Jingpo, Dongxiang, Dong, Daur, Tatar, Dongba of Nakhi, Salar, etc. The fifth tier is

made up of a myriad unrecognized languages and dialects (e.g. Gyalrong, Fuyu Khakas, Tuvan, Lingao).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, work also started on compiling “concise history” and assigning narratives of “ethno-genesis”, heroic figures, class struggles, and anti-imperialist struggles to each of the officially recognized ethnic categories. In practice, retroactive projection and use of newly-constructed ethnonymic labels in historiography was accepted and encouraged (83).

2) Category-managing institutions

CCP recognized “equal right to be autonomous” (Chinese: *pingdeng zizhi*) and “to freely join” (Chinese: *ziyou jiaru*) the Chinese Federation (Chinese: *zhongguo lianbang*) of all ethnic minorities in the *Declaration of the China People’s Liberation Army* on October 10, 1947 (Zhang 2015, 76). Nevertheless, it was not clear whom these “ethnic minorities” refer to, how such rights could be practiced, as well as who would represent these minorities to practice such rights.

In 1949, the Central People’s Government of the PRC established a self-standing ministry-level apparatus, State Ethnic Affairs Commission (hereafter SEAC)⁹⁸ intended to supervise and to study the formulation and implementation of policies towards the

⁹⁸ The SEAC was modeled upon Bolsheviks’ People’s Commissariat for Nationalities. Intellectuals in China also tend to believe that the design of SEAC was also inspired by the Lifan Yuan of the Qing Empire and the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission of the Kuomintang regime.

defining and managing of ethnic categories, towards the building of ethnic territorially-based autonomous entities, as well as towards the training of ethnic cadres.

Also in 1949, prior to the holding of the first plenary session of the China People's Political Consultative Conference, then head of SEAC, Li Weihan, argued against the proposal to adopt ethno-federalism in PRC. He justified the argument by indicating that various ethnic populations of PRC follow the residential patterns of "mostly intermixed, partially concentrated (Chinese: *dazaju xiaojuju*)" and that ethnic minorities made up merely 6% of the total population (76). In other words, PRC's ethnic demography was characterized as more homogenous than that of the Soviet Union, and Li proposed that ethnically unitary structure of state, if also complemented with ethnic territorially-based autonomous entities designated for ethnic minorities, be more suitable for PRC.

Similarly, Zhou Enlai also noted the risk of "Western Imperial powers" (Chinese: *xifang diguozhuyi lieqiang*) utilizing the discourse of self-determination within a federal framework to "estrangle" different ethnic populations and to dismember PRC (Chinese: *liyong minzu wenti tiaobolijian zhongguo de tongyi*, 160-161).

In 1952, the Central People's Government of PRC introduced the *Implementation Syllabus for Ethnic Regional Autonomy in PRC*, in which it was stipulated that autonomous entities designated for ethnic minorities should be local-level state authorities under the leadership of the PRC central-state (78). Ethno-regions would be established at three levels, i.e. provincial-level autonomous regions, prefectural-level autonomous prefectures, and county-level autonomous counties. Three types of ethno-regions were proposed to be established: 1) those designated primarily for one ethnic category (e.g. Tibet/Xizang Autonomous Region, Yanbian Korean Autonomous

Prefecture of Jilin Province, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan Province); 2) those designated primarily for one ethnic category but with lower-level ethno-regions designated for other ethnic categories under them (e.g. Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture of Xinjiang); 3) those designated for two or even more ethnic categories jointly (e.g. Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture of Hunan Province, Haixi Mongol/Tibetan/Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture of Qinghai Province) (79; Ji 2013, 31-32). In the 1954 PRC Constitution, ethnic territorially-based autonomy was enshrined⁹⁹ as an integral part of the institutions governing how the central-state and various ethno-regions are supposed to be related.

The first provincial-level ethnic territorially-based autonomous entity under CCP was founded in Manchuria in 1947, designated for those categorized as “ethnic Mongols.” During the Manchukuo period under Imperial Japan (1932-1945), ethno-national consciousness of being “ethnic Mongol” rose steadily among the Mongolic-speaking populations in Western Manchuria (Chinese: *Ximan* or *Xing'an sisheng*, largely overlapping with present-day eastern part of NMAR, Atwood 1992, 17, 24). This tendency started competing with a concurrent process of symbiosis between those who would identify as Han and those who would identify as Mongol (15-17). Such a rise in ethno-national consciousness can be associated with the abolition of Qing-dynasty aristocracy in the Mongolic-speaking areas of Manchuria (Liu 2006, 128), with “pan-Mongolism”¹⁰⁰ which was introduced from the Soviet Union, and with the development

⁹⁹ The NPC of PRC, *Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1954)*, [in Chinese] http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/wxzl/2000-12/26/content_4264.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ Influenced by Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union's linguistic categorization of Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic languages and inspired by pan-Slavism and pan-Turkism, pan-Mongolism was first developed among ethnic Buryat intellectuals in Imperial Russia and later the Soviet Union. It regards those who speak Mongolic languages while following Tibetan Buddhist traditions as one “nation.” However, the

in Manchuria of Mongolic-language education systems under the auspices of the Japanese colonial rule (Atwood 1992, 18). As the USSR Red Army marched into Manchuria to disarm Imperial Japan's Kwantung Army, a movement calling for formal autonomy for Mongolic speakers in Manchuria (Chinese: *dongmeng zizhi yundong*) formed under the leadership of Manchukuo-trained Mongolic-speaking elites in 1945, with support from the Soviet Union (Liu 2006, 132).

This movement initially demonstrated an ethnocentric ideology (Chinese: *minzure*, “national fever”, 123-24) and aimed even at mobilizing Mongolic-speakers beyond Manchuria (133). In 1946, the Manchuria-based *dongmeng zizhi yundong* was incorporated under the leadership of CCP after the Chengde Conference (161; Atwood 1992, 57-67). On April 23, 1947, Nei Mongol Autonomous Region (NMAR) was founded in Wangyemiao¹⁰¹ in Western Manchuria, whose territory initially included Western Manchuria only. As the PLA was taking over the entire territory of the Republic of China, NMAR's territory continually expanded, incorporating parts of the provinces of Rehe¹⁰², Chaha'er¹⁰³, Suiyuan¹⁰⁴, and Gansu¹⁰⁵. The geographic expanse of the ethno-regional territory rose from around 540,000 km² in 1947 to around 1,180,000 km² in 1956 (Zhang 2015, 74; Chen & Chen 2012, 55-58; Wang 2007, 232-243). Admittedly,

boundary of such a “nation” can be quite ambiguous, for example, by excluding the Mongolic-speaking but traditionally Muslim Dongxiang people and by including the Turkic-speaking ethnic Tuvans.

¹⁰¹ Present-day Ulanhot, the administrative center of the Hinggan League (Chinese: *Xing'an Meng*) of NMAR.

¹⁰² Abolished in 1955 (Chen & Chen 2012, 20).

¹⁰³ Abolished in 1952 (Chen & Chen 2012, 48).

¹⁰⁴ Abolished and merged with NMAR in 1954 (Chen & Chen 2012, 18).

¹⁰⁵ Parts of Gansu province were included in NMAR in 1956 (Chen & Chen 2012, 56).

dongmeng zizhi yundong's vision of "unifying Inner Mongolia" was actually realized under the CCP.

It took six years for PRC's second provincial-level ethnic territorially-based autonomous entity, XUAR, to be founded. In 1949, PLA marched into what was the Xinjiang Province of the Republic of China and reorganized what was once under the control of the East Turkestan Republic¹⁰⁶ between 1944 and 1949 into the Xinjiang Province of PRC (Millward and Tursun 2004, 82-87). However, the Xinjiang Province was not immediately replaced with an autonomous region primarily for such considerations as political order still being established under CCP, competing visions about the future of Xinjiang, inter-ethnic discord, as well as low level of economic development (Ji 2013, 84-85). CCP's ethnic categorization in Xinjiang largely inherited the categorization legacy of Sheng Shicai's rule over Xinjiang¹⁰⁷ and established "ethnic Uyghurs"¹⁰⁸ as the largest ethnic category of Xinjiang (at approximately 76% of the entire population in the early 1950s, 80-81) while stabilizing official boundaries between various ethnic categories.

¹⁰⁶ "Three Districts Revolution" (Chinese: *sanqu geming*) according to PRC-based sources.

¹⁰⁷ Between 1934 and 1944 (Millward and Tursun 2004, 79-81). Under the dictatorial rule of Sheng Shicai, Soviet-style ethnic categorization was conducted. 14 ethnic categories were recognized, i.e. Uyghur, Kazakh, Han, Hui, Taranchi, Kyrgyz, Mongol (or Oirat), Guihua (Russian under PRC), Xibe, Uzbek, Tajik (or Pamiri), Tatar, Solon (Daur under PRC), and Manchu (Qi 2006). "Taranchi" was merged into "Uyghur" under PRC.

¹⁰⁸ The first use of the category "Uyghur" to designate either agrarian or urban-based Turkic-speaking populations of the Xinjiang Province (Republic of China) despite their cultural heterogeneity and lack of shared consciousness (distinct from the categories of "Kazakhs" or "Kyrgyz" to designate those mostly pastoral and clan-based as well as from the categories of "Uzbek" or "Tatar" to designate those who migrated from Imperial Russia/Soviet Union to Xinjiang) has been attributed to a congress held in Tashkent in 1921 by the Organization of Workers and Farmers of Altishahr and Dzungaria (Millward and Tursun 2004, 73). In 1934, the category "Uyghur" already adopted in the Soviet Union was officially appropriated to Xinjiang by Sheng Shicai in consultation with an ethnic Kazan Tatar elite, Borhan Shahidi. Borhan Shahidi later changed his own ethnic category from "Tatar" to "Uyghur" in order to fill the post of Chair of the Xinjiang Province (anonymous interview conducted in Beijing on March 30, 2017).

In 1953, CCP formulated the roadmap for reorganizing Xinjiang into an autonomous region, calling on those categorized as “ethnic Uyghurs” to “proactively accommodate other brotherly *minzu*” (Chinese: *zhudong zhaogu xiongdi minzu*) in terms of tolerating the designating of lower-level autonomous prefectures, counties, and townships for other ethnic minority categories (86-87). Meanwhile, CCP Xinjiang Bureau was actively recruiting and training cadres of ethnic minority categories in the form of “cadre training classes” (Chinese: *ganbu peixun ban*, 87-88). In 1954, six autonomous counties¹⁰⁹ and five autonomous prefectures¹¹⁰ were designated within the confine of Xinjiang Province. Notably, the territory of Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture largely overlaps with that of the 1944-1949 East Turkestan Republic and administers three prefectures under its own jurisdiction, Ghulja, Tacheng, and Altay. On September 30, 1955, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region designated for ethnic Uyghurs was officially proclaimed by the Xinjiang Province People’s Congress. The naming of the ethno-region combines the Chinese-language designation of the region with the titular ethnic category “Uyghur”, while proposals to name it “Uyghurstan” was not adopted (90-91). The territory of XUAR coincides with the territory of its predecessor, Xinjiang Province.

In 1958, two more provincial-level ethno-regions were proclaimed, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region designated for ethnic Hui and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region designated for ethnic Zhuang. In 1965, the fifth provincial-level ethno-region, Xizang (Tibet) Autonomous Region designated for ethnic Tibetans, was created¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ Yanqi Hui, Qapqal Xibe, Mori Kazakh, Hoboksar Mongol, Tashkorgan Tajik, and Barköl Kazakh.

¹¹⁰ Bayingholin Mongol, Bortala Mongol, Kyzylsu Kyrgyz, Changji Hui, and Ili Kazakh.

¹¹¹ After military pacifications of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau.

As ethno-regions at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels were being established, massive recruitment and trainings of ethnic-minority cadres were also under way to create ethnic cadres well-versed in the “ethnic in form, socialist in content” nature of CCP’s managing of ethnicity and capable of filling the key posts in the governmental apparatuses of those newly-founded autonomous regions. For that purpose, *minzu* colleges (Chinese: *minzu xueyuan*) were established in Beijing (Central Minzu College), Lanzhou (Northwestern Minzu College), Chengdu (Southwestern Minzu College), Kunming (Yunnan Minzu College), Guiyang (Guizhou Minzu College), Xining (Qinghai Minzu College), Wuhan (Zhongnan Minzu College), and Nanning (Guangxi Minzu College). Aside from *minzu* colleges, various universities, pedagogical colleges (Chinese: *shifan xueyuan*) and pedagogical-professional schools (Chinese: *shifan zhuanke xuexiao*) were established in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (Jilin), Nei Mongol, Xinjiang, Ningxia, and Guangxi. Aside from higher education institutions, other state-sponsored institutions for the production and reproduction of ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols were also massively created, including minority-language primary and secondary educations, publishing houses, newspapers, magazines at central, provincial, and prefectural levels, radio broadcastings in ethnic minority languages beamed from central, provincial, and prefectural levels, central and ethno-regional-level academies of social sciences (Chinese: *shehui kexueyuan*), etc.

Ethnically-based affirmative action programs were broadly practiced in the areas of cadre recruiting, higher education matriculation, hiring and promotion, marriages, etc. in the forms of lowering admission thresholds, setting quotas, or subsidies. The 1950 Marriage

Law of PRC even customarily tolerated polygamy and traditional divorces in certain ethnic-regions (Sautman 1998, 88).

Since the very inception of PRC, the official lines about ethnically-related issues have been revolving around denouncing Han chauvinism (Chinese: *da hanzu zhuyi*) as well as local nationalism (Chinese: *difang minzu zhuyi*). Defined by Mao Zedong as reactionary thoughts of the landlord and bourgeois classes on inter-ethnic relations, Han chauvinism is a catchword lumping together ideas that can be associated with political, economic, or cultural domination by ethnic Han elites. As opposed to Han chauvinism, local nationalism is the catchword pertaining to ideas associated with political domination by ethnic minority elites, which can emphasize ethnically-based cleavages over class-based cleavages while frowning upon inter-ethnic cultural exchanges, marriages, etc.¹¹² The label of local nationalism is closely related to the label of “bourgeois capitalism”, which connotes the primordial (“from time immemorial”), patrimonial (“property of specific ethnic groups”), static (“unchanging”) conceptions of ethnic cultures among those ethnic minority cadres who tend to be “unwilling to admit backwardness while hailing everything ‘ethnic’ as something positive” (Liu 1996, 217). By creating the duality of Han versus non-Han out of ethnic categorizations, the PRC state has to arduously strike the balance between accommodating the consciousness of being of the ethnic Han category and accommodating the consciousness of being of ethnic minority categories.

Nevertheless, during the Cultural Revolution, notions like *minzu* were increasingly denounced as phenomena of the past and bound to disappear as the populations “move

¹¹² The United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee, “Han Chauvinism and Local Nationalism,” [in Chinese] <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64107/65708/66066/66078/4468606.html> (accessed July 31, 2017).

onto higher stages” of socialist development. Numerous ethnic minority cadres were labeled as “class enemies” and targeted for struggling (Chinese: *pidou*). Previously recruited and promoted ethnic minority cadres were massively purged, and the representation of ethnic minority cadres in party or state apparatuses dropped significantly. For instance, in 1975, the proportion of ethnic minority cadres in the total number of cadres of XUAR was only around 26.4%, compared to 42% in 1955, marking the record low (Ji 2013, 99). Ethnic territorially-based autonomy went largely into dysfunction, especially when the 1975 Constitution of PRC removed the mention of ethnic territorially-based autonomy for ethnic minorities (Zhang 2015, 80). It was alleged that Muslims in certain localities were forced to raise pigs (Ma 1995, 78) and that burial rites among certain ethnic minorities in certain localities were forcibly altered (78). With regard to higher education admissions and cadre recruitments, ethnically-based affirmative action programs were replaced by class-based affirmative action programs, privileging those who were classified as “workers, farmers, or soldiers” (Chinese: *gongnongbing*) regardless of ethnicity.

Table 3.3. Provincial-level and semi-provincial-level ethno-regions in China

Name of the ethno-region	Year established	Titular ethnic category	Official languages/scripts	Capital	Five largest ethnic categories (2010)
Nei Mongol (Inner Mongolia) Autonomous Region (NMAR)	1947	Mongol	Chinese, Mongolian (Chakhar vernacular plus Huihu/ancient Uyghur script)	Höhhhot (Chinese: <i>Huhehaote</i> , Huihu Mongolian: <i>Kökeqota</i> , the capital)	Han (79.5%), Mongol (17.1%), Manchu (1.8%), Hui (0.9%), Daur (0.3%)

				originally based in Wangyemiao, temporarily based in Zhangjiakou)	
Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture ^a (formerly East Turkestan Republic) (IKAP)	1954	Kazakh	Chinese, Kazakh (currently Arabic script, Latin script from the 1960s through 1982), Uyghur	Ghulja (Kazakh: <i>Kulca</i> , Chinese: <i>Yining</i>)	Han (44.2%), Kazakh (25.6%), Uyghur (16.7%), Hui (9.1%), Mongol (mostly Oiratic, 1.6%)
Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)	1955	Uyghur	Chinese, Uyghur (Ürümqi vernacular plus Arabic script, Latin script from the 1960s through 1982)	Ürümqi (Chinese: <i>Wulumuqi</i>)	Uyghur (45.8%), Han (40.5%), Kazakh (6.5%), Hui (4.5%), Kyrgyz (0.8%)
Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (GZAR)	1958	Zhuang	Chinese, Zhuang (Wuming vernacular plus Latin script)	Nanning (Zhuang: <i>Namning</i>)	Han (62.8%), Zhuang (31.5%), Yao (3.2%), Miao (1%), Dong (0.7%)
Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region (NHAR)	1958	Hui	Chinese	Yinchuan	Han (64.9%), Hui (34.4%), Manchu (0.3%), Mongol (0.1%), Dongxiang (0.016%)
Xizang (Tibet) Autonomous	1965	Tibetan	Chinese, Ü-Tsang Tibetan (Lhasa vernacular	Lhasa (Chinese: <i>Lasa</i>)	Tibetan (90.7%), Han (8.3%), Hui (0.3%), Monba

Region (XAR)	plus Tibetan script)	(0.3%), Lhoba (0.1%)
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^a IKAP has its own prefectures. Hence IKAP is considered a semi-provincial-level ethno-region in China.

Sources: Chen, Chao, and Hongling Chen, *Atlas of the Continuity and Change in the Territorial Administrative Arrangements of the People's Republic of China* (Beijing: Zhongguo Ditu Chubanshe, 2012); Economic and Development Department of the PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission & Department of Integrated Statistics of the PRC National Bureau of Statistics, *China's Ethnic Statistical Yearbook 2010* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2011); PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013); Ji, Lei, *Study of the Institutions of Ethnic Regional Autonomy in China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013).

Since Deng Xiaoping's reform

1) Category-defining institutions

After the end of the Cultural Revolution, the 1982 PRC Constitution reiterated the constitutionally multi-ethnic nature of the PRC state, which has remained stable ever since. The populations of PRC continue to be officially categorized ethnically in censuses, and the number of officially recognized ethnic categories was fixed at 56.

According to the 1982 PRC population census, 56¹¹³ ethnic categories were taxonomically recognized and reified, and the total population of those classified as “ethnic minority” made up 6.62% of the total PRC population, including 799,705 with yet-to-be-classified ethnicity (Economic and Development Department of the PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission & Department of Integrated Statistics of the PRC National Bureau of Statistics 2011, 655-6). In the 1990 PRC population census, those classified as “ethnic minority” constituted 8.01% of the total PRC population. Ethnic minorities’ population share in China rose to 8.41% as of the 2000 PRC population census and to 8.49% as of the 2010 census.

¹¹³ Newly added ethnic categories include Lhoba and Jino.

2) Category-managing institutions

Starting 1985, it is required that each PRC citizen reaching the age of 16 be issued an identification card by the relevant local branches of the Public Security Bureau (Chinese: *gong'anju*), on which ethnicity is indicated. Such ethnicity is transmitted from parents to children. Only one category is allowed to each citizen, which somehow stabilizes the ethno-taxonomic system. Notably, on the ID cards issued in ethno-regions with two official languages, the legends have been presented in both Chinese characters and the script associated with the ethno-region's titular category: for the first-generation ID cards, usually the ethnic minority script is handwritten, whereas on the second-generation ID cards introduced in 2004, all ethnic minority scripts have become digitally printed¹¹⁴.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, large numbers of previously purged ethnic minority cadres were rehabilitated and restored to various positions in party-state apparatuses of all levels. To enlist support from ethnic minority populations of the central-state's economic reforms and developmental strategies, various types of ethnic institutions were re-

¹¹⁴ Min Sheng, "Ethnic minority citizens' bilingual ID cards for certain ethno-regions now can be issued *in situ* in Chongqing Municipality," [in Chinese] *Zhongguo Minzubao*, February 17, 2017. The minority scripts printed on ID cards include the Huihu (ancient Uyghur) script used in Nei Mongol Autonomous Region, Qian Gorlos Mongol Autonomous County (Jilin), Dörböd Mongol Autonomous County (Heilongjiang), Fuxin Mongol Autonomous County (Liaoning), and Henan Mongol Autonomous County of Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai); Arabic Uyghur script used in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region; Latin Zhuang script used in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; Tibetan script used in Xizang Autonomous Region, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan), Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan), Muli Tibetan Autonomous County of Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan), Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai), Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai), Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai), and Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai); Korean script used in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (Jilin), Changbai Korean Autonomous County (Jilin); Yi script used in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan).

established, and expression of ethnically, linguistically, and culturally-based differences again became largely encouraged by the PRC state.

Ethnic territorially-based autonomy became formally enshrined as normative institution of PRC in 1984, when the PRC National People's Congress passed the Law of Ethnic Regional Autonomy (hereafter LERA) of the PRC. The founding chair of NMAR, Wulanfu, presided over the drafting of LERA (Wang 2007, 582-583). Subsequently, LERA was amended by the PRC National People's Congress in 2001 with regard to fiscal/investment policies, poverty-reduction, education, inter-provincial economic aid programs, cadre recruitment, etc.¹¹⁵ Notably, LERA is after all a baseline law, and its implementation may require the legislation of various auxiliary regulations and guidelines in time to come¹¹⁶. By 2015, 139 autonomy regulations were legislated at the prefectural and county-level ethno-regions, 777 separate regulations were legislated at the provincial, prefectural, and county-level ethno-regions (Zhang 2015, 115). In addition to ethnic territorially-based autonomy, other ethnic institutions such as systematic recruitment and trainings of ethnic-minority cadres, more than one language accorded with official status at the subnational level, state-sponsored institutions for the production and reproduction of ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols, ethnically-based affirmative action programs, and so forth were all enshrined somehow in the LERA.

By 2003, China had designated 120 autonomous counties, 30 autonomous prefectures, and 5 autonomous regions. Of the 55 minority categories, 44 categories had been conferred with autonomous entities where the categories are titular. 71% of total minority

¹¹⁵ The NPC of PRC, "Several notes on the draft amendments of the PRC LERA," [in Chinese] http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/zfjc/zfjcelys/2015-12/28/content_1957562.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

populations were residents of ethno-regions, while the total geographical area of ethno-regions of all administrative levels combined constituted 64% of the total territory of PRC (80).

Under the supervision of an ethnologist, Ma Yin, and the head of SEAC between 1978 and 1986, Yang Jingren¹¹⁷, throughout the 1980s, five series of booklets on “ethnic issues” (Chinese: *minzu wenti wuzhong congshu*) were published. They consist of general guides to each of the ethnic minority categories, concise “history” for each of the minorities, concise grammar of languages, general guides to each of the ethno-regions, and surveys of social history (Ma 1995, 226-7). These publications tend to assume that ethnic identity is primordial and fixed while implying groupness by officially assigning a “bundle of immutable features” (Dwyer 1998, 74) such as ethnonym, history, language, locale, and customs (73) to all the 55 officially-recognized ethnic minority categories. Such officially-endorsed ethnically-specific knowledge and symbols were produced and reproduced by experts of both minority and Han categories in higher education institutions, social science academies, ethnic minority language publishing houses of books/newspapers/magazines (Chinese: *chubanshe*, *baoshe*, *zazhishe*), ethnic minority language TV and radio channels, etc. On the other hand, those ethnonyms, categories, dialects, and historical narratives not recognized by the state have been marginalized to varying extent.

Beijing, the capital of PRC, boasts of hosting a number of central-state-level institutes producing and reproducing officially-endorsed ethnic knowledge and symbols. Examples

¹¹⁷ Both Ma Yin and Yang Jingren are ethnic Hui.

include Minzu University of China, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Ethnic Publishing House, *Nationality Pictorial* Press, Press of the Periodical *Zhongguo Minzu*, Central Translation Bureau of Ethnic Languages and Scripts, China National Radio's ethnic minority language services. After the 2008 mass protests in ethnic-Tibetan-inhabited areas and after the 2009 inter-ethnic violent clashes in Ürümqi, Xinjiang, additional TV and radio channels broadcasting in Tibetan and Uyghur languages were opened respectively. As of the 2010s, the major ethnic minority languages/scripts used in media include Mongolian, Uyghur, Zhuang, Tibetan, Korean, Kazakh, Yi, etc. On the renminbi banknotes, four scripts other than Chinese characters are printed, i.e. Mongolian (ancient Uyghur script), Uyghur (Arabic script), Zhuang (Latin script), and Tibetan (Tibetan script).

It was reported that by 2007, over 60 million PRC citizens were using various ethnic minority languages, while close to 30 million PRC citizens were using various ethnic minority scripts (Zhang 2015, 132). Languages associated with ethnic minority categories are taught in two types of pre-tertiary schools, those whose instruction is conducted in such languages and those where such languages are taught as a subject while the language of instruction for most curricula is Mandarin Chinese. Starting the early 2000s, titular-language education at the preschool, primary, secondary, and tertiary levels has been formally enshrined in relevant legal documents in certain ethno-regions (e.g. Nei Mongol¹¹⁸) but shrinking in other ethno-regions (e.g. Xinjiang). Nevertheless, options to take college entrance exams (Chinese: *gaokao*) in such languages as Mongolian, Uyghur,

¹¹⁸ Public Announcement No. 24 of the standing committee of the 12th People's Congress of the NMAR, "NMAR Regulations on Ethnic Education," [in Chinese] October 13, 2016, available at <http://gov.nmgnews.com.cn/system/2016/10/13/012156744.shtml> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Tibetan, Kazakh, Korean, and Yi remain open to high school students, and preferential treatments such as lower admission thresholds and bonus scores for exam-sitters of ethnic minority categories have been in practice since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Under circumstances where inter-ethnic boundaries tend to be ambiguous, preferential treatments would incentivize parents to register their children as “ethnic minority” rather than ethnic Han.

Preferential treatment in terms of family planning allows ethnic minority citizens to have one more child than ethnic Han couples in most of the provincial-level units of PRC. In XUAR, notably, starting July 2017¹¹⁹, regardless of ethnicity, all urban-based couples are allowed to have two children, and all rural-based couples three children. In this sense, ethnically-based preferential treatments in terms of family planning in Xinjiang have been terminated.

The notion of the “Chinese nation” (Chinese: *zhonghua minzu*) corresponding to a community of all PRC citizens regardless of ethnicity has been promoted since Jiang Zemin’s term as the general secretary of CCP. Since the 18th National Congress of the CCP, the party general secretary Xi Jinping has been proposing that “Chinese nation” be engineered as a community of “diversity in one”¹²⁰, where ethnically-based identities should be reconciled and integrated with nation-based identifications with the PRC state and citizenship. The qualitative difference of Xi’s “diversity in one” from Jiang’s super-ethnic community seems to be a stronger emphasis upon inter-ethnic “amalgamation,”

¹¹⁹ “Maternity leave extended to 60 days in the newly revised XUAR Population and Family Planning Regulations,” [in Chinese] *Tianshannet* http://news.ts.cn/content/2017-07/28/content_12754730.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹²⁰ Jin Binghao, “A tentative study of Xi Jinping’s understandings of “Chinese nation” since the 18th National Congress of the CCP,” [in Chinese] *Zhongguo Minzubao*, February 17, 2017.

according to which the PRC party-state would aim at promoting greater inter-ethnic cultural similarity and socio-economic integration.

The rest of the chapter introduces a conceptual framework and applies it to a controlled comparison of Xinjiang and Tatarstan. The framework conceptualizes ethnic territorially-based autonomy in two separate modes, autonomy as prescriptive institution and autonomy as implemented outcome. Autonomy as prescriptive institution in China and Russia will be compared first, followed by measuring and comparison of autonomy as implemented outcomes.

AUTONOMY AS PRESCRIPTIVE INSTITUTION

In Chapter 2, formal institutions of ethnic territorially-based autonomy is conceptualized as territorially-based power-sharing arrangements distinguishing an ethno-regional state from the central-state, in which a specific territory is formally attached to and designated for a specific ethnic category, usually a minority category, and in which elites of that ethnic category are supposed to be adequately represented in the decision-makings in the ethno-regional state governing that territory. This conceptualization treats ethnic territorially-based autonomy as prescriptive, formal institutions stipulating how authority is supposed to be shared between the ethno-regional state and the central-state to ensure political participation, economic development, as well as cultural promotion among the titular populations of such ethno-regions. Such institutions are usually embodied in the relevant legally-binding documents that legitimate and delimit the expected roles of both the central and ethno-regional states in terms of how to govern the ethno-region.

Such expected roles can differ across the respective combination of legal documents governing different pairs of central-versus-ethno-regional relations. For ethno-regions in China, the governing documents as of most recently are the PRC Constitution mostly recently amended in 2004 and the LERA of PRC most recently revised in 2001. For ethno-regions in Russia, the governing documents usually encompass the 1993 RF Constitution (hereafter CRF) and the Constitution of ethnic republics (e.g. Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan, hereafter CRT). In the case of Tatarstan, a third document, the 2007 Treaty RFRT, has also been serving as baseline. In the following three sub-sections, I outline the expected roles of both central and ethno-regional states as prescribed in the relevant legal documents on three dimensions, titular political participation, ethno-regional economic development, and titular cultural promotion.

Titular political participation

China

In China, the ethno-regional state is defined as both local extensions of the central-state and state organs of autonomy (Chinese: *zizhi jiguan*) over particularly delimited areas of jurisdictions in both the PRC Constitution and the LERA (LERA 2001, Article 4; CPRC 2004, Article 115). The types of ethno-regional state organs designated to practice autonomy are the ethno-regional¹²¹ “People’s Government” (Chinese: *renmin zhengfu*) and “People’s Congresses” (Chinese: *renmin daibiao dahui*). People’s Governments of ethno-regions should report to People’s Congresses at the same administrative level and

¹²¹ Autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures, or autonomous counties.

to governments at the next higher administrative level, or to the standing committee of ethno-regional People's Congresses when they are not in session (LERA 2001, Article 15; CPRC 2004, Article 112). Ethno-regional People's Governments are also subordinate to the PRC State Council (LERA 2001, Article 15). In the event of an enforcement decision from a higher-level state authority considered not suiting the "actual conditions" (Chinese: *shiji qingkuang*) of an ethno-region, the ethno-regional state may appeal to the higher-level state either to implement the higher-level decision adaptively or not to carry out the decision whatsoever. In that scenario, the higher-level state is supposed to furnish formal response within sixty days of receiving the appeal (LERA 2001, Article 20).

In the ethno-regional People's Congress, appropriate representation of deputies of the titular ethnicity and of other ethnicities inhabiting the ethno-region is supposed to be ensured. In addition, there needs to be at least one citizen of the titular ethnicity to fill the position of chairs or vice-chairs of the ethno-region's standing committee of People's Congress (CPRC 2004, Article 113). The chair of an autonomous region, the prefect of an autonomous prefecture, or the head of an autonomous county are expected to be citizens of the titular ethnicity of the ethno-region (CPRC 2004, Article 114; LERA 2001, Article 17). The central-state is expected to assist in the training of cadres, specialized personnel, and skilled workers in ethno-regions who would be competent to fill the key positions in the ethno-regional state organs (CPRC 2004, Article 122). The number and proportion of deputies to the People's Congress of an ethno-region for both the titular ethnicity and other ethnicities inhabiting the ethno-region are supposed to be determined by the standing committee of the relevant provincial-level People's Congress and to be reported to the standing committee of the PRC National People's Congress for its record.

Of those who formally chair the standing committee of the People's Congress of an ethno-region, at least one citizen of the titular ethnicity should be appointed (LERA 2001, Article 16).

The cadres employed by the state organs of an ethno-region should be proportionally drawn from citizens of both the titular ethnicity and other ethnicities inhabiting the ethno-region (LERA 2001, Article 18). Towards that vision, training of cadres, specialized personnel, and skilled workers is supposed to be conducted, and ethnic minority cadres should be preferentially hired (LERA 2001, Articles 22, 70). In their recruiting of personnel, enterprises (Chinese: *qiye*) and non-entrepreneurial institutions (Chinese: *shiye danwei*) are supposed to preferentially enlist employees from ethnic minority populations, especially from those resident in rural and pastoral areas (LERA 2001, Article 23).

Ethno-regional People's Congress has the authority to enact autonomy regulations (Chinese: *zizhi tiaoli*) and separate regulations (Chinese: *danxing tiaoli*, CPRC 2004, Article 116; LERA 2001, Article 19). An ethno-region is allowed to organize its local public security forces (CPRC 2004, Article 120; LERA 2001, Article 24). Ethno-regional-level People's Courts (Chinese: *renmin fayuan*) and People's Procuratorates (Chinese: *renmin jianchayuan*) are not autonomy-practicing state organs. Instead, they are subordinate solely to higher level organs. Nevertheless, some of the positions chairing ethno-regional-level People's Courts and People's Procuratorates are supposed to be filled by citizens of the titular ethnicity of the ethno-region (LERA 2001, Article 46).

In terms of managing inter-ethnic relations, the LERA stipulates group-level equal rights for all the officially recognized ethnic populations (Article 48). An ethno-regional state is

mandated to support all of its recognized ethnic categories, including both concentrated and scattered ones (Article 50), to conduct full consultation with representatives of various ethnic categories (Article 51), and to promote ideas about common allegiance to the multi-ethnic central state, inter-ethnic mutual respect and unity, etc. (LERA 2001, Article 53).

Russia

In Russia, constituent entities such as ethnic republics of the RF are entitled to independently establish system of state organs at the sub-national level. Meanwhile, executive organs of RF and executive organs of constituent entities of the RF are also expected to form a unified system of executive power (CRF 1993, Article 77). The Constitution of the RT stipulates separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, while the RT President, State Soviet (Russian: *gosudarstvennyi sovyet*; Tatar: *däülät sovyet*)¹²², Cabinet of Ministers (Russian: *kabinet ministrov*; Tatar: *ministrLAR kabinetı*), and courts at different levels constitute the Tatarstani state. Executive power is exercised by the RT Cabinet of Ministers. In their exercises of authority, they are expected to take into account the historical, ethnic, and other peculiarities of Tatarstan (CRT 1992, Article 9).

The RT State Soviet consists of 100 deputies. In order to be elected deputy to the State Soviet, one has to be a citizen of RT reaching the age of 21 (CRT 1992, Article 69). To be elected President of Tatarstan, one has to be a citizen of RT no younger than 30 and is

¹²² The online portal “Official Tatarstan” translates the name of the organ as “State Council.” To distinguish it from the State Council of PRC, I translate the name of the organ as “State Soviet.”

required to know competently both state languages of Tatarstan, i.e. Tatar and Russian (CRT 1992, Article 91; Treaty RFRT, Article 2.5). The State Soviet of the RT serves as the legislative organ (Tatar: *zakon chigaru organi*) of the RT (CRT 1992, Articles 67-88). The Cabinet of Ministers of the RT serves as the executive organ (Tatar: *bashkarma organi*) of the RT (CRT 1992, Articles 99-105). The President of RT serves term on a five-year basis but cannot serve more than two terms consecutively (CRT 1992, Articles 89-98). Judicial power in Tatarstan is supposed to be wielded by a hierarchical system of courts including the Supreme Court of the RT (Tatar: *yugarı məhkəməse*), Constitutional Court of the RT (Tatar: *konstitutsyon məhkəməse*), Arbitration Court of the RT (Tatar: *arbitrazh məhkəməse*), and sub-republic-level courts (CRT 1992, Articles 106-115).

According to the RF Constitution, ethnic republics can establish their own constitutions and legislatures. The ethno-federal structure of RF is founded upon the territorial integrity of Russia, upon unified state power, upon delimitation of jurisdictions between the central state and the constituent entities, and upon equality and “self-determination” of various “nationalities” of RF (CRF 1993, Article 5). The state power of constituent entities of RF is exercised by the organs established by them (CRF 1993, Article 11.2). The delimitation of jurisdiction between RF and its constituent entities is exercised according to the present constitution and to the treaties reached between RF and its constituent entities (CRF 1993, Article 11.3). Outside the areas of jurisdictions solely wielded by the RF or jointly wielded by RF and its constituent entities, the constituent entities wield full authority (CRF 1993, Article 73). In the areas of jurisdictions solely wielded by the RF or jointly wielded by RF and its constituent entities, federal laws prevail. Beyond those areas, laws of the constituent entities prevail (CRF 1993, Article

76). RF constitution prevails in the event of treaties contradicting the constitution (CRF 1993, Statement 1 of Section II).

Concerning the legally defined relations between RT and the federal state, Tatarstan is defined as both a “state” united with RF and its constituent entity (Tatar: *berlāshkən hām subyekti bulgan*) on the basis of the RF Constitution, the RT Constitution, and the Treaty RFRT. According to the 2007 Treaty RFRT, Tatarstan is defined as a constituent entity of the RF while possessing full state authority beyond areas solely under the jurisdiction of the RF and beyond powers of the RF with regard to matters under the joint authority of the RF and RT (Treaty RFRT 2007, Articles 1, 2.1). The state authority of RT is supposed to maintain a corresponding representative office under the President of the RF in Moscow (Treaty RFRT 2007, Article 4).

Outside the scope of authority wielded by RF or jointly by RF and RT, the RT is a sovereign state, whose sovereignty is an unalienable property (CRT 1992, Article 1.1). The status of the RT cannot be changed or altered unless on the basis of mutual consent between RF and RT. RT’s borders cannot be changed without its consent (CRT 1992, Article 1.3). The RT can establish and exercise its own normative rules and regulations. Such republic-specific rules and regulations is expected to prevail in the event of contradictions between RT rules and RF laws (CRT 1992, Article 4). Tatarstan has its own citizenship. Those RF citizens who constantly reside in Tatarstan are also citizens of RT, while RT citizens are simultaneously RF citizens (CRT 1992, Articles 21, 22). The Treaty between the RF and the RT is part of the legal system of both RF and RT (CRT 1992, Article 25).

The RT state coordinates with the federal government of RF in rendering support and assistance to its compatriots (Russian: *sootechestvennik*, loosely synonymous with “co-ethnics”) in their “preservation of identity” and “development of national culture and language” (Treaty RFRT 2007, Article 2.4). Support of ethnic Tatars outside Tatarstan is also explicitly prescribed in the Constitution of RT (CRT 1992, Article 14). In the meantime, the RT state is supposed to “independently” participate in international economic affairs (CRT 1992, Article 1.4) and can reach agreement/treaties and share jurisdictions with sub-national entities outside Russia and participate in international organizations (CRT 1992, Article 6). Tatarstan can develop relationships, reach agreements and treaties, share jurisdictions, form organizations with other constituent entities of Russia (CRT 1992, Article 7). In the 2007 Treaty RFRT, more specific guidelines are provided with regard to how the RT state is supposed to conduct international economic relations: RT, within its competence, can carry out economic relations internationally with sub-national-level units of foreign states, participate in the activities of international organizations specially created for the purpose of sub-national-level co-operations and sign agreements for the implementation of international economic relations. Such activities should be conducted in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RF in tandem with certain procedures (Treaty RFRT 2007, Article 2.3).

China

In China, ethno-regions, especially provincial-level ones, are required to devise their own developmental strategies and plans under the guidance of the central-state (LERA 2001, Article 25; CPRC 2004, Article 118). Ethno-regional states should promote diverse ownership structure, ensure that key role is played by public ownership (LERA 2001, Article 26) and protect forests and grasslands (LERA 2001, Article 27). The central-state is expected to assist ethno-regions in terms of formulating developmental strategies, banking, financial, material, and technical supports by taking into account the peculiarities of such ethno-regions (LERA 2001, Article 55; CPRC 2004, Article 122).

Ethno-regions are supposed to “rationally” exploit natural resources (LERA 2001, Article 28) while improving ecological environments against pollution and hazards (LERA 2001, Article 45). The central-state should somehow compensate for the negative ecological effects of natural resources exploitations in ethno-regions (LERA 2001, Articles 65-66).

The central-state is also expected to give priority to infrastructure buildings in ethno-regions by means of favorable investment policies, reducing matching funds by ethno-regions, encouraging skillful personnel to work for ethno-regions, providing necessary technologies and equipment, etc. (LERA 2001, Article 56). Both the central and ethno-regional-level states are prescribed to support enterprises in ethno-regions in their exchanging of know-hows with enterprises outside the ethno-regions, in particular ethno-regional pharmaceutical enterprises (LERA 2001, Articles 30, 58, 60). Enterprises affiliated to the central-state but based in ethno-regions are supposed to preferentially recruit workers from local ethnic minority populations (LERA 2001, Article 67).

Ethno-regional states' financings are integral parts of the unified state financial system, where ethno-regions should receive preferential transfer payments from the central-state while setting up their own reserve funds (LERA 2001, Article 32). On one hand, ethno-regional states are supposed to autonomously administer finances by determining the standards of expenditure, the sizes of their personnel, as well as the workloads for such personnel (LERA 2001, Article 32; CPRC, Article 117). On the other hand, ethno-regional states are supposed to employ policies of tax reductions or tax exemptions (LERA 2001, Article 34) in support of local businesses while operating and regulating local commercial banks and credit unions (LERA 2001, Article 35). With regard to investment, the central-state is expected to use combination of currency market and capital market to support ethno-regions by encouraging financial organizations to increase fixed assets investment and to provide favorable loan terms, etc. (LERA 2001, Article 57). Special funds should be established for economic and cultural development in ethno-regions (LERA 2001, Article 59), while central-state's transfer payments to ethno-regions should increase as central-state's revenue increases (LERA 2001, Article 62).

In the managing of human capital, ethno-regional states are required to regulate and to monitor "floating populations" (Chinese: *liudong renkou*), or those who have been living outside the localities of their household registrations (Chinese: *hukou*) (LERA 2001, Article 43). Family planning applies to all citizens of ethno-regions regardless of their ethnic categories (LERA 2001, Article 44), while ethno-regional states and the central-state, in conjunction with each other, should work on poverty reduction (LERA 2001, Article 69).

Ethno-regions are encouraged to engage in international trade and to set up trading posts (Chinese: *maoyi kou'an*) while receiving preferential treatment from the central-state in these aspects (LERA 2001, Article 31). Ethno-regional states, in their managing of local economy, are supposed to develop comparative advantages for the ethno-regions (LERA 2001, Article 61). Multilayered and multifaceted exchange programs between economically “more advanced” areas and ethno-regions should be introduced (LERA 2001, Article 64).

Russia

The Constitution of the RT provides very general guidelines about how the Tatarstani state is supposed to manage and to develop its economy: the RT should follow the model of socialist market economy (Tatar: *sotsyal bazar xucalığı*) featuring diverse ownerships and significant role of the public sector (CRT 1992, Article 17). The RT state is required to protect private, state, and collective properties (CRT 1992, Article 18). These properties are non-violable and cannot be unlawfully seized (CRT 1992, Article 19).

The RT state should endeavor to coordinate consumer-producer and labor-capital relationships without interfering with the productive activities of owners and workers. Meanwhile, the RT state is expected to devise developmental programs while using budgetary, fiscal, infrastructural, investment, credit, pricing policies to regulate the economy (CRT 1992, Article 17). Concretely, the RT state prohibits monopolies or unfair competitions and should promote small and medium size enterprises (CRT 1992, Article 20). In the meantime, the RT state is supposed to strike the balance between utilization and protection of natural resources, including flora and fauna (CRT 1992, Article 16.1).

Titular cultural promotion

China

According to the LERA, both the central-state and ethno-regional states should invest in educational institutions. Ethnic minority students should be preferentially recruited, while *minzu* colleges and pedagogical institutes should be established to train teachers who would work in ethno-regions (LERA 2001, Article 71). Ethno-regional-level states are supposed to determine the contour of the educational system, especially in terms of the forms, curricula, and languages used in instruction (LERA 2001, Article 36). Boarding schools should be established in urban centers for ethnic minority students from remote rural areas, and such schools should be subsidized (LERA 2001, Article 37). Ethno-regional-level states are expected to promote both the use of ethnic languages and the teaching of simplified Chinese characters in schools while supporting publication and translation in ethnic minority languages and scripts (LERA 2001, Article 37). They are also supposed to invest into local knowledge-producing institutions as means to promote cultural heritages (LERA 2001, Article 38) while formulating plans on the promotion of science and technology (LERA 2001, Article 39). Ethno-regional states should contrive to develop health services together with both modern and traditional medicines, while actively monitoring public health issues and sanitary conditions (LERA 2001, Article 40). Ethno-regional states should promote sports and physical fitness (LERA 2001, Article 41) and are allowed to engage in cultural exchanges both within China and internationally (LERA 2001, Article 42).

Ethno-regional state organs should guarantee the “freedom of religious belief” (Chinese: *zongjiao xinyang ziyou*) to citizens regardless of their ethnic categories. State organs, organizations, or individuals are prohibited from forcing citizens either to believe in or not to believe in any religion and from discriminating against citizens according to whether they believe in any religion or not. Ethno-regional state protects “normal” (Chinese: *zhengchang*) religious activities. However, individuals are not allowed to disrupt public order, to harm the health of citizens or to interfere with the educational system of the state in the name of any religion. Moreover, religious organizations and religious affairs cannot be administratively subordinate to any foreign organizations (LERA 2001, Article 11).

Ethno-regional states officially establish what constitutes the commonly used spoken and literary language or languages of the ethno-region and employ these language(s) in their exercising of authority (CPRC 2004, Article 121; LERA 2001, Articles 21, 36). Ethnic minority languages and scripts should be used both in textbooks and as media of instruction in schools where most of the students are recruited from non-Chinese-speaking ethnic minorities. Meanwhile, teaching of simplified Chinese characters should start from certain grade in ethnic-minority-language-instructed primary schools (LERA 2001, Article 37). Ethno-regional states are supposed to encourage mutual learning of languages among cadres of the various ethnic categories. On one hand, ethnic Han cadres should learn the language and script of local ethnic minorities. On the other hand, while learning and using the language and script associated with their own ethnic categories, ethnic minority cadres should also learn Mandarin Chinese and the Chinese characters (LERA 2001, Article 49). Cadres in ethno-regions who are able to use skillfully two or

even more languages commonly used in the relevant locality should be awarded (LERA 2001, Article 49).

In the hearing and investigation of cases, ethno-regional-level People's Courts and People's Procuratorates are expected to use the commonly used local languages. They are also expected to hire personnel proficient in both the spoken and literary languages used among local ethnic minorities. For those involved in cases not familiar with the language used by the courts or procuratorates, translation services should be provided. When necessary, legal documents can be written in the language or languages commonly used in the locality. Citizens of various ethnicities are entitled to use their preferred spoken and written languages in court proceedings (LERA 2001, Article 47).

Russia

The RF is defined as secular with no state religion proclaimed for it, whereas all religious organizations are equal in front of the law (CRF 1993, Article 14). The official language of RF is solely Russian, while ethnic republics can establish their own state languages in addition to Russian (CRF 1993, Article 68). RF guarantees to all ethnic populations (Russian: *narod*) rights to preserve their ethnic languages, to create conditions for the study and promotion of these languages (CRF 1993, Article 68).

In Tatarstan, Tatar and Russian are official languages of the RT on an equal footing (CRT 1992, Article 8; Treaty RFRT 2007, Article 2.5). Both official languages are supposed to be used in a mutually equal status in republic-level state apparatuses and county-level self-rule organs (Tatar: *cirle üzidarə organnar*, CRT 1992, Article 8). The RT is

constitutionally defined as a secular state, where religious organizations are equal in front of the law and separated from the state (CRT 1992, Article 11). RT's legal documents should be published in both Tatar and Russian, wherein contents in both languages should correspond to each other and be compatible (CRT 1992, Article 80). On the internal passports issued in RT to its citizens, there should be an inserted page printed in the Tatar language (Treaty RFRT 2007, Article 3). Moreover, the RT can designate its own state symbols (CRT 1992, Articles 121, 122). Ideological diversity is officially recognized in Tatarstan, and no state-sponsored ideologies would be allowed to prevail (CRT 1992, Article 12.1). The budget of the RT state should support the development of "material and spiritual cultures" (Tatar: *matdi hām ruxi mādāniyāt*) for the benefits of the entire population (CRT 1992, Article 16.2).

Summary

Ethno-regional-level states in China are formally sub-national-level extensions of the central-state but are also formally designated to practice autonomy in specifically-defined areas of jurisdiction. Elite representation at the ethno-regional state organs in China is meant to follow a principle balancing both titular priority and equitability among all officially recognized ethnic categories of the ethno-region. In Russia, ethno-regional-level states are formally separate from the central-state in the ethno-federal framework, and ethnic republics are entitled to adopt their own constitutions. They are also supposed to delimit with the federal government areas of jurisdiction solely under the federal government, areas of jurisdictions jointly under the federal government and a republic, and areas of jurisdictions solely under the republic. Ethnic republics can sign treaties or

agreements with the federal government setting up concrete guidelines of power-sharing. Ethnic republics like Tatarstan are allowed to actively reach out to co-ethnics of the republic's titular ethnic category living outside the republic and to participate in international-level activities in coordination with the federal government.

In terms of managing and developing the ethno-regional economy, prescriptive autonomy institutions in both China and Russia stipulate a combination of market economy with important public sector. However, prescriptive autonomy institutions in China are explicitly more focused upon central-state's support of ethno-regions in the forms of financial (investment), fiscal, infrastructural, and technical (personnel) assistances than those in Russia. Ethno-regions in China are explicitly entitled to receive growing amounts of fiscal transfers from the central-state, while something equivalent is not explicitly stipulated in Russia. Autonomy as prescriptive institutions in both China and Russia formally guarantees the use of titular languages and scripts in ethno-regions in the domains of government, education, and public sphere¹²³, while requiring the state authorities to be religiously neutral. In Russia, ethnic republics are allowed to designate ethno-regional-level state symbols, whereas equivalent privilege is not available for ethno-regions in China.

¹²³ Related to services or products formally accessible for all citizens regardless of ethnicity, social class, etc.

MEASURING AUTONOMY: AUTONOMY AS IMPLEMENTED OUTCOME

This section introduces the other mode of the conceptual framework, which measures and compares ethno-regions' degree of actually exercised autonomy in terms of how much of what is stipulated in the legally binding covenants establishing the formal autonomy for the ethno-region has been empirically implemented in compliance. Such implemented outcomes in relation to the baseline (Tsai 2007, 38) set up in the formal, prescriptive institutions of ethnic territorially-based autonomy can remarkably differ across respective ethno-regions. Conceptually, such outcomes tend to be a medley, involving both state and non-state actors, of intended consequences of the formal institutions, circumventions of or disregards for the formal institutions (Helmke & Levitsky 2004, 727), informal behavioral regularities (727), informal institutions, as well as cultural inheritance (Tsai 2007, 37). However, since the purview of the section is to measure autonomy as implemented outcome as a whole for individual ethno-regions, I will not delve into the aforementioned conceptual categories.

Instead, autonomy as implemented outcome is comprehensively evaluated through an instrument I propose. The instrument consists of three dimensions, political participation among the ethno-region's titular population, economic development of the ethno-region, and cultural promotion among the ethno-region's titular population. The instrument will score an ethno-region's performance on each of these dimensions, and the score of each dimension will be assigned a weight of 1/3, generating an aggregate score up to 100%. The higher the score for an ethno-region, the greater the level of compliance with formally stipulated autonomy of the ethno-region's actually exercised autonomy. For an

ethno-region in China, the formula with which to calculate the degree of its actually exercised autonomy, A_1 , is proposed as

$$A_1 = (p_1/9 \times 1/3 + e_1/8 \times 1/3 + c_1/6 \times 1/3) \times 100\%$$

For an ethno-region in Russia, the formula with which to calculate the degree of its actually exercised autonomy, A_2 , is proposed as

$$A_2 = (p_2/10 \times 1/3 + e_2/6 \times 1/3 + c_2/6 \times 1/3) \times 100\%$$

Titular political participation

China

The implemented autonomy outcome of an ethno-region in China on the dimension of political participation among the ethno-region's titular population will be assigned with a total score ranging from 0 to 9 points. If such a score is called p_1 , then p_1 will be disaggregated on nine sub-dimensions. An ethno-region's performance on each of these sub-dimensions is measured according to an ordinal scale of scores assigned to an ordinal scale of either dichotomous categories or indexes taking more than two values. Sub-dimensions considered necessary attributes of autonomy as practically implemented can take the value of 0 if empirically evidence points to the absence of such attributes.

The following sub-dimensions are assessed on an ordinal scale of dichotomous categories. Accordingly, an ethno-region's score on these sub-dimensions will take one of the two mutually discrete values:

P1. Has there been incidence of central-state's mandates formally claimed as not suiting the ethno-region's conditions by the ethno-regional state? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

P2. Has there been systematic training of ethnic minority cadres or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.

P3. Has there been formal consultation with representatives of various ethnic populations or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

P4. Is the Chair of the ethno-region of titular category or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.

The following sub-dimensions are assessed on an ordinal scale of three categories.

Accordingly, an ethno-region's score on these sub-dimensions will take one of the three mutually discrete values:

P5. Has there been practice of preferential treatment of ethnic minorities for recruitment in ethno-regional state apparatus or in state-owned enterprises? If yes, the score will be 1. If moderately yes, then the score will be 0.75. If such practice is totally absent, then the score will be 0.

P6. Have autonomy regulations or separate regulations ever been enacted or not? If regulations of both types have been enacted, then the score will be 1. If separate regulations have been enacted but no autonomy regulations, then the score will be 0.5. If regulations of neither type have been enacted, then the score will be 0.

P7. As regards representation of the titular population in the ethno-regional-level People's Congress, if for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular representatives in the total number of representatives at the ethno-regional-level People's Congress is higher than or equals the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 1. If for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular representatives in the total number of representatives is lower than the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 0.5. If titular representation is completely absent in ethno-regional-level People's Congress, then the score will be 0.

P8. As regards proportionality of titular cadres to titular population, if for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular cadres in the total number of cadres working for party and state apparatuses combined exceeds or equals the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 1. If for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular cadres in the total number of cadres working for party and state apparatuses combined is lower than the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 0.5. If titular cadres are completely absent in the ethno-region, then the score will be 0.

P9. As regards proportion of titular-category chairs and vice-chairs at the ethno-regional-level People's Congress, if for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular-category chairs and vice-chairs in the total number of chairs and vice-chairs at the ethno-regional-level People's Congress exceeds or equals the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 1. If for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular-category chairs and vice-chairs in the total number of chairs and

vice-chairs at the ethno-regional-level People's Congress is lower than the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 0.5. If titular-category chairs are completely absent in the ethno-regional-level People's Congress, then the score will be 0.

Russia

The implemented autonomy outcome of an ethno-region in Russia on the dimension of political participation among the ethno-region's titular population will be assigned with a total score ranging from 0 to 10 points. If such a score is called p_2 , then p_2 will be disaggregated on ten sub-dimensions. An ethno-region's performance on each of these sub-dimensions is measured according to an ordinal scale of scores assigned to an ordinal scale of dichotomous categories taking two mutually discrete values or of three categories taking more than two values. Such sub-dimensions include:

P1. Has there been separate system of state organs in the ethno-region from the federal one? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.

P2. Has there been formal separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

P3. Does the incumbent president (or executive head of the ethno-region) meet the eligibilities defined in the legally binding documents or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.

P4. Does the ethno-region have its own normative rules and regulations or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.

P5. Does the ethno-region have representative office under President of RF or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.

P6. Does the ethno-region have representative office(s) outside the border of RF? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

P7. Does the ethno-region have treaties or agreements with other constituent entities of RF? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

P8. Does the ethno-region provide support to those living outside the ethno-region but of the ethno-region's titular ethnic category? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

P9. As regards representation of the titular population in the legislative organ of the ethno-region, if for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular deputies in the total number of deputies in the ethno-regional legislative organ is higher than or equals the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 1. If for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular deputies in the total number of deputies is lower than the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 0.5. If titular deputies are completely absent in the legislative organ, then the score will be 0.

P10. As regards representation of the titular population in the executive organ of the ethno-region, if for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular ministers in the total number of ministers in the ethno-regional executive organ is higher than or equals the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 1. If for a specific time frame, the proportion of titular ministers in the total

number of ministers is lower than the population share of the titular group in the total population of the ethno-region, then the score will be 0.5. If titular ministers are completely absent in the executive organ, then the score will be 0.

Ethno-regional economic development

China

The implemented autonomy outcome of an ethno-region in China on the dimension of ethno-regional economic development will be assigned with a total score ranging from 0 to 8 points. If such a score is called e_I , then e_I will be disaggregated on eight sub-dimensions. An ethno-region's performance on each of these sub-dimensions is measured according to an ordinal scale of scores assigned to an ordinal scale of either dichotomous categories or indexes taking more than two values. Again, sub-dimensions considered necessary attributes of autonomy as practically implemented can take the value of 0 if empirically evidence points to the absence of such attributes.

E1. Is the ethno-region a “donor” region or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5. An ethno-region qualifies as a “donor” region if it contributes more to the central government's budget than it receives from the central government in the form of fiscal transfers. This sub-dimension is a proxy for the overall affluence and productivity of a given ethno-region relative to the national average.

E2. Have there been special funds set up or not for the ethno-region? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

E3. Have fiscal transfer payments been increasing or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5.

E4. Central-state's-transfer-to-ethno-regional-revenue ratio is a proxy for the ethno-region's capacity to strike the balance between financial self-sufficiency and ability to procure financial transfers from the central-state. If the ratio is higher than 0 but no higher than 1, then the score will be 1. Then the ratio is higher than 1, then the score will be 0.5.

E5. As regards GDP per capita of an ethno-region, if it exceeds or equals the national average, then the score will be 1. If it is lower than the national average, then the score will 0.5.

E6. As regards an ethno-region's unemployment rate, if it is lower than or equals the national average, then the score will be 1. If it exceeds the national average, then the score will be 0.5.

E7. As regards development of ethno-regional comparative advantages, if such comparative advantages are concentrated in manufacturing sectors and if the ethno-regional state has been implementing innovative investment policies, then the score will be 0.75. If such comparative advantages are concentrated in agricultural or mining sectors, then the score will be 0.5. If no such comparative advantages have been established, then the score will be 0. This sub-dimension is a proxy for the developmental sustainability of a given ethno-region.

E8. Regarding the proportion of an ethno-region's expenditures covered by the ethno-region's own revenues, if the proportion exceeds or equals 75%, then the score will be 1.

If the proportion is lower than 75% but no lower than 50%, then the score will be 0.5. If the proportion is lower than 50%, then the score will be 0.25. This sub-dimension is a proxy for the financial self-sufficiency of a given ethno-region (Sambanis & Milanovic 2014, 11).

Russia

The implemented autonomy outcome of an ethno-region in Russia on the dimension of ethno-regional economic development will be assigned with a total score ranging from 0 to 6 points. If such a score is called e_2 , then e_2 will be disaggregated on six sub-dimensions. An ethno-region's performance on each of these sub-dimensions is measured according to an ordinal scale of scores assigned to an ordinal scale of either dichotomous categories or indexes taking more than two values. Again, sub-dimensions considered necessary attributes of autonomy as practically implemented can take the value of 0 if empirically evidence points to the absence of such attributes.

E1. Is the ethno-region a “donor” region or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.5. An ethno-region qualifies as a “donor” region if it contributes more to the federal government's budget than it receives from the federal government in the form of fiscal transfers. This sub-dimension is a proxy for the overall affluence and productivity of a given ethno-region relative to the national average.

E2. Central-state's-transfer-to-ethno-regional-revenue ratio is a proxy for the ethno-region's capacity to strike the balance between financial self-sufficiency and ability to procure financial transfers from the federal government. If the ratio is higher than 0 but

no higher than 1, then the score will be 1. Then the ratio is higher than 1, then the score will be 0.5.

E3. As regards GDP per capita of an ethno-region, if it exceeds or equals the national average, then the score will be 1. If it is lower than the national average, then the score will 0.5.

E4. As regards an ethno-region's unemployment rate, if it is lower than or equals the national average, then the score will be 1. If it exceeds the national average, then the score will be 0.5.

E5. As regards development of ethno-regional comparative advantages, if such comparative advantages are concentrated in manufacturing sectors and if the ethno-regional state has been implementing innovative investment policies, then the score will be 0.75. If such comparative advantages are concentrated in agricultural or mining sectors, then the score will be 0.5. If no such comparative advantages have been established, then the score will be 0. This sub-dimension is a proxy for the developmental sustainability of a given ethno-region.

E6. Regarding the proportion of an ethno-region's expenditures covered by the ethno-region's own revenues, if the proportion exceeds or equals 75%, then the score will be 1. If the proportion is lower than 75% but no lower than 50%, then the score will be 0.5. If the proportion is lower than 50%, then the score will be 0.25. This sub-dimension is a proxy for the financial self-sufficiency of a given ethno-region (Sambanis & Milanovic 2014, 11).

Titular cultural promotion

China

The implemented autonomy outcome of an ethno-region in China on the dimension of cultural promotion among the ethno-region's titular population will be assigned with a total score ranging from 0 to 6 points. If such a score is called c_I , then c_I will be disaggregated on six sub-dimensions. An ethno-region's performance on each of these sub-dimensions is measured according to an ordinal scale of scores assigned to an ordinal scale of either dichotomous categories or indexes taking more than two values. Again, sub-dimensions considered necessary attributes of autonomy as practically implemented can take the value of 0 if empirically evidence points to the absence of such attributes.

C1. As regards the use of the titular language and scripts in the ethno-regional-level government, if the titular language has been dominant in both formal and informal conducts of the ethno-regional-level governmental apparatuses, then the score will be 1. If the titular language has been dominant not in formal but in informal conducts of the ethno-regional-level governmental apparatuses, then the score will be 0.75. If the *lingua franca* of the multi-ethnic central-state has been dominant, then the score will be 0.5.

C2. As regards the use of the titular language and scripts in public sphere, if formal use of the titular language has been present in academic institutions, print media (books, newspapers, magazines), radio and TV, internet, and if there has been ubiquitous informal, conversational use of the titular language, then the score will be 1. If formal use of the titular language has been present in academic institutions, print media (books, newspapers, magazines), radio and TV, internet, and if there has been noticeable, but not ubiquitous, informal, conversational use of the titular language, then the score will be 0.5.

C3. Has the official historiography of the ethno-region been promoting debates or not? If there have been competing historical narratives with debates, then the score will be 1. If there has been strictly controlled historiography discouraging debates, then the score will be 0.

C4. Has the ethno-regional state been regulating individual citizens' practices of religion or not? If the state has been regulating mostly the forms and interpretations of religious practices, then the score will be 1. If the state has been regulating not only the forms and interpretations of religious practices but also those who are allowed to practice and those who are not, then the score will be 0.5.

C5. Has there been preferential treatment of the titular population in terms of matriculating students or not? If yes, the score will be 1. If no, then the score will be 0.

C6. As regards the use of the titular language and scripts in education, if learning of the titular language has been made mandatory for all students in pre-tertiary education while being used as medium of instruction for some students, and if the titular language has been used to some extent in higher education, then the score will be 1. If the titular language is not mandatory for all students in pre-tertiary education but still is used as medium of instruction for some students, and if the titular language has been used to some extent in higher education, then the score will be 0.75. If the titular language has been used as medium of instruction for some subjects only or merely taught as a subject in pre-tertiary education, and if the titular language is barely used in higher education, then the score will be 0.5.

Russia

The implemented autonomy outcome of an ethno-region in Russia on the dimension of cultural promotion among the ethno-region's titular population will also be assigned with a total score ranging from 0 to 6 points. If such a score is called c_2 , then c_2 will be disaggregated on six sub-dimensions. An ethno-region's performance on each of these sub-dimensions is measured according to an ordinal scale of scores assigned to an ordinal scale of either dichotomous categories or indexes taking more than two values. Again, sub-dimensions considered necessary attributes of autonomy as practically implemented can take the value of 0 if empirically evidence points to the absence of such attributes.

C1. As regards the use of the titular language and scripts in the ethno-regional-level government, if the titular language has been dominant in both formal and informal conducts of the ethno-regional-level governmental apparatuses, then the score will be 1. If the titular language has been dominant not in formal but in informal conducts of the ethno-regional-level governmental apparatuses, then the score will be 0.75. If the *lingua franca* of the multi-ethnic central-state has been dominant, then the score will be 0.5.

C2. As regards the use of the titular language and scripts in public sphere, if formal use of the titular language has been present in academic institutions, print media (books, newspapers, magazines), radio and TV, internet, and if there has been ubiquitous informal, conversational use of the titular language, then the score will be 1. If formal use of the titular language has been present in academic institutions, print media (books, newspapers, magazines), radio and TV, internet, and if there has been noticeable, but not ubiquitous, informal, conversational use of the titular language, then the score will be 0.5.

C3. Has the official historiography of the ethno-region been promoting debates or not? If there have been competing historical narratives with debates, then the score will be 1. If there has been strictly controlled historiography discouraging debates, then the score will be 0.

C4. Has the ethno-regional state been regulating individual citizens' practices of religion or not? If the ethno-regional state has been regulating mostly the forms and interpretations of religious practices, then the score will be 1. If the ethno-regional state has been regulating not only the forms and interpretations of religious practices but also those who are allowed to practice and those who are not, then the score will be 0.5.

C5. Have the ethno-regional state's legally defined symbols been broadly used or not? If they have been broadly used, the score will be 1. If they have rarely been used, then the score will be 0.

C6. As regards the use of the titular language and scripts in education, if learning of the titular language has been made mandatory for all students in pre-tertiary education while being used as medium of instruction for some students, and if the titular language has been used to some extent in higher education, then the score will be 1. If the titular language is not mandatory for all students in pre-tertiary education but still is used as medium of instruction for some students, and if the titular language has been used to some extent in higher education, then the score will be 0.75. If the titular language has been used as medium of instruction for some subjects only or merely taught as a subject in pre-tertiary education, and if the titular language is barely used in higher education, then the score will be 0.5.

The next two sections apply the instrument proposed in this section to scoring implemented autonomy outcomes for the first six years of the 2010s of Xinjiang and Tatarstan.

AUTONOMY OUTCOME IN XINJIANG

Titular political participation

Throughout the first six years of the 2010s, not a single incidence has been reported of central-state's decisions formally claimed as not suiting the ethno-region's "conditions" by XUAR ethno-regional People's Government or People's Congress. In fact, it was largely the "Xinjiang Work" Forum (Chinese: *xinjiang gongzuo zuotanhui*)¹²⁴ organized by CCP Central Committee and PRC State Council at the central-state level that sets the tone and determined the suitability of central-state's mandates to XUAR. Accordingly, XUAR receives a score of 0.5 on dimension P1.

There has been systematic training of ethnic minority cadres in XUAR for party-state apparatuses. Such cadres are drawn from ethnic categories of Uyghur, Kazakh, Hui, Kyrgyz, Mongol (Oiratic), Xibe, Uzbek, Tatar, Daur, Dongxiang, Tajik (Pamiri), etc. and most often enrolled either full-time or part-time in higher education institutions or in party schools (Chinese: *dangxiao*) at the central, ethno-regional, or prefectural levels. Some of the party schools are formally affiliated to specific departments of XUAR People's Government. The faculty of party schools may conduct policy studies or

¹²⁴ The first Xinjiang Work Forum was held in Beijing in 2010 under Hu Jintao's service as the CCP general secretary. The second one was held in Beijing in 2014 under Xi Jinping's service as the CCP general secretary.

lectures either in Mandarin Chinese or in titular languages (e.g. Uyghur, Kazakh). Since 2014, up to 200,000 cadres regardless of ethnicity have been required to station themselves on usually a one-year term in economically underdeveloped, ethnic-minority-concentrated villages throughout XUAR¹²⁵. These cadres have been mandated to work on poverty-reduction, policy promotion, infrastructural and agricultural improvements, teaching of Mandarin Chinese, and so forth¹²⁶. Overall, XUAR receives 1 point on dimension P2.

The XUAR party-state apparatuses conduct formalistic consultation with those designated as “representatives” of various ethnic populations by holding forums, visiting families, etc. Nevertheless, these representatives usually are themselves cadres affiliated to either party or state apparatuses. Themes of formal consultations tend to be more focused on cultural, educational, religious affairs, decisions about personnel management¹²⁷. Usually representatives consulted would engineer their comments in endorsing manners. Overall, I assign 1 point to XUAR on dimension P3.

Throughout the first six years of the 2010s, chairs of the XUAR People’s Government¹²⁸ have consistently been drawn from the titular category. Hence the score is 1 for XUAR on Dimension P4.

¹²⁵ Zheng Yanjiang, “Visiting people’s families, benefiting people’s life, connecting people’s heart: the Xinjiang model of grass-roots-level governance in China,” [in Chinese] *Tianshannet*, http://news.ts.cn/content/2016-08/29/content_12252819.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹²⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on 7 August 2015, 2 March, 10 August of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

¹²⁷ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on 7 August 2015, 2 March, 10 August of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

¹²⁸ Nur Bekri served as the chairman of XUAR between 2008 and 2014. Since 2014, Shöhrät Zakir has been serving as the chairman of XUAR. Both are ethnic Uyghur.

Overall, preferential treatment of ethnic minorities for recruitment in ethno-regional party-state apparatuses or in SOEs has long been practiced in XUAR. Especially since the end of the Cultural Revolution, such preferential recruitment has been systematically and continuously implemented, often in the forms of quota-setting or threshold-lowering, which stoked resentment among ethnic Han cadres¹²⁹. Admittedly, nepotism or favoritism are not uncommon in preferential recruitments. Nonetheless, ethnic non-Han populations are still underrepresented in party-state apparatuses and even more so in SOEs. Moreover, preferential treatments of ethnic minorities have been practiced in party apparatus not as much as in state apparatuses (Sautman 1998, 94-97). Preferential treatments have been more flexible in job markets. For instance, in the Karamay Municipality of XUAR, a 20% quota has been set for ethnic minority categories in recruitment, while employers in both the public and non-public sectors will be subsidized for hiring ethnic minority employees beyond the 20% quota¹³⁰. Private businesses owned by ethnic Han in XUAR tend to prefer hiring ethnic Han workers. Based on a comprehensive evaluation of preferential treatments in Xinjiang, XUAR scores 0.75 on Dimension P5.

Since the founding of XUAR, only separate regulations have been enacted. Examples of such regulations include the *XUAR Regulations on De-extremization* adopted on March 29, 2017, the *Regulations on the Use of Languages and Scripts in the XUAR*, *XUAR Population and Family Planning Regulations*, *XUAR Regulations on Inter-ethnic Unity*

¹²⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on 7 August 2015, 2 March, 10 August of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

¹³⁰ "Subsidization policies to boost employment in the Karamay municipality," [in Chinese] available at <http://www.shebaocxw.com/view.php?id=405> (accessed July 31, 2017).

and Progress and so forth. Meanwhile, no autonomy regulations have ever been enacted (Ji 2013, 124-127). Therefore, the score for XUAR is 0.5 on Dimension P6.

Of the initial composition of the 12th XUAR People's Congress in 2013, the proportion of ethnic Uyghur representatives in the total number of representatives was 43% (236 out of 550)¹³¹, slightly lower than ethnic Uyghurs' population share in the total population of XUAR as of 2012 at 47.2%¹³². Of the initial composition of the standing committee of the 12th XUAR People's Congress, the proportion of ethnic Uyghur members in the total number of members was 37.9% (18 out of 48)¹³³, to an even greater extent lower than ethnic Uyghurs' population share in the total population of XUAR as of 2012.

Accordingly, XUAR scores 0.5 on Dimension P7.

The most recent data on the proportion of ethnic minority party-state cadres in XUAR are available for 2004 and 2005. In 2004, 51.6% of all party-state cadres of XUAR were of ethnic non-Han categories, lower than the population share of ethnic non-Han categories at 60.25% (Ji 2013, 99). In 2005, 51.68% of all party-state cadres of XUAR were of ethnic non-Han categories, lower than the population share of ethnic non-Han categories at 60.42% (Zhu and Wang 2015, 161-165). The titular population of XUAR has more or less been underrepresented among party-state cadres in XUAR. Accordingly, I assign a score of 0.5 to XUAR on dimension P8.

¹³¹ "A list of the names and work positions of the representatives of the 12th XUAR People's Congress (550 representatives in total)," [in Chinese] *Xinjiang Daily*, July 18, 2013.

¹³² Statistical Bureau of XUAR, *2016 Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook*.

¹³³ "Public Announcement of the 12th XUAR People's Congress," [in Chinese] *NPC of PRC*, available at http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/dfrd/xinjiang/2013-02/01/content_1753332.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

Of the 12th XUAR People's Congress, the proportion of ethnic Uyghur chairs and vice-chairs in the total number of chairs and vice-chairs was 33.3% (3 out of 9) in 2013, significantly lower than ethnic Uyghurs' population share in the total population of XUAR as of 2012 at 47.2%. As of 2017, this proportion became 30%, with 3 out 10 chairs and vice-chairs being ethnic Uyghurs. In view of this, the score for XUAR on Dimension P9 is also 0.5. To sum up, XUAR scores 6.25 on a scale of 9 for p_1 .

Ethno-regional economic development

The ratio between PRC central government's budgeted transfers to XUAR and XUAR's budgeted tax and non-tax-based revenues was 93.2% for 2015¹³⁴. The ratio may demonstrate that for the fiscal year of 2015, XUAR was almost as reliant upon transfers from the central-state as upon revenues of its own ethno-regional sources. Since the data are available only for the fiscal year 2015, at least for 2015, XUAR barely scores 1 point on Dimension E4. If similar level applied to years 2010 through 2014, then the score would apply to the entire period in question.

The proportion of XUAR's budgeted expenditures that was covered by XUAR's own budgeted tax or non-tax-based revenues was 36.8% for 2010, 40% for 2011, 40.6% for 2012, 44.2% for 2013, 45.3% for 2014, and 40% for 2015¹³⁵. Considering that the indicators for the six consecutive years of 2010-2015 never exceed 50%, I assign 0.25 to

¹³⁴ "Integrated table of budgeted fiscal returns and transfer payments from the central government to provincial-level units," [in Chinese] available at http://yss.mof.gov.cn/2015czys/201503/t20150324_1206398.html; Statistical Bureau of the XUAR, 2016 *Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook* [in Chinese].

¹³⁵ Statistical Bureau of the XUAR, 2016 *Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook* [in Chinese].

XUAR on Dimension E8. For 2016 alone, XUAR contributed only ¥ 7.06 billion to the central government's budget while receiving ¥ 247.19 billion of fiscal transfers from the central government¹³⁶. Considering that for the first six years of the 2010s, XUAR's ability to use its own budgeted revenues to cover its budgeted expenditures has never surpassed the threshold of 50%, I classify XUAR as a “recipient” region rather than a “donor” region and assign 0.5 to XUAR on dimension E1.

The GDP per capita of XUAR has consistently been significantly lower than the China-wide GDP per capita for the statistical years of 2010-2015, as is demonstrated in Table 3.4. What is also shown in Table 3.4. is that XUAR's registered unemployment rate has been consistently lower than the national average of the RF from 2010 through 2015. This may somehow be associated with the massive recruitment in XUAR of young people regardless of ethnicity into the local police forces and elementary/secondary schools since the aftermath of the 2009 violent clashes in Ürümqi. Accordingly, I assign to XUAR 0.5 point on dimension E5 and 1 point on E6.

Table 3.4. GDP per capita and registered unemployment rate of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and of the People's Republic of China compared (2010-2015)

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
GDP per capita of	¥ 25034	¥ 30087	¥ 33796	¥ 37553	¥ 40648	¥ 40036
Xinjiang (in	\$3780	\$4765	\$5377	\$6159	\$6643	\$6165

¹³⁶ XUAR Department of Finances, “Report on the implementation of the 2016 XUAR budget and on the draft 2017 XUAR budget.” [in Chinese] available at http://www.mof.gov.cn/zhuantihuigu/2017ysbghb/201703/t20170302_2545588.html (accessed July 31, 2017).

renminbi and US dollars ^{a)}						
GDP per capita of China (in renminbi and US dollars ^{b)})	¥ 30567 \$4561	¥ 36018 \$5634	¥ 39544 \$6338	¥ 43320 \$7078	¥ 46629 \$7684	¥ 49992 \$7699
Registered unemployment rate of Xinjiang (%)	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.5
Registered unemployment rate of China (%)	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.05	4.09	4.05

^{a b} Converted according to the exchange rates of December 31, 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015, from PRC State Administration of Foreign Exchange, http://www.safe.gov.cn/wps/portal/sy/tjsj_hlzjj_inquire (accessed July 31, 2017)

Sources: *2016 Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook* (Statistical Bureau of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region); *2014 China Population & Employment Statistics Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2014); *2015 China Statistical Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2015); *2016 China Statistical Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2016).

Since 2015, XUAR has received special funds for major infrastructural projects like the construction of Ürümqi metro subways¹³⁷. Budgeted transfer payments from the central-state to XUAR have been rising steadily from ¥ 155.198 billion for 2015, to ¥ 183.562 billion for 2016, and to ¥ 208.529 billion for 2017. Accordingly, XUAR scores 1 on both E2 and E3.

XUAR's comparative advantages have mostly been concentrated in oil extraction and refining. Aside from major oil fields such as Karamay, Tarim, and Turpan-Qumul

¹³⁷ "Special funds of the central-state supporting 542 major infrastructural projects in Xinjiang," [in Chinese] available at <http://xi.people.com.cn/n2/2016/0401/c188514-28058904.html> (accessed July 31, 2017).

(Chinese: *tuha youtian*), oil refineries in Dushanzi and Poskam/Zepu, steel plant in Ürümqi (Chinese: *bayi gangtiechang*)¹³⁸, the industrial sector of XUAR is more or less underdeveloped. XUAR is best-known in China for its locally-specific agricultural produces such as fruits and cash crops such as cotton. However, tax revenues from such produces are quite susceptible to their market prices, and the potential of the agricultural sector contributing to XUAR's ethno-regional revenue is modest.

By the end of 2015, there were over 20 thousand¹³⁹ private businesses owned by ethnic minority entrepreneurs in XUAR, of which around 90% were small enterprises¹⁴⁰. Their ability to massively employ ethnic minority workers, though significant, is limited. Notably, XUAR does feature several relatively large, private enterprises owned by ethnic Uyghur entrepreneurs that specialize in Halal food production and grocery chains¹⁴¹. Nevertheless, such enterprises mostly rely upon a Xinjiang-based, Muslim-oriented market, and their capacity to create jobs is limited¹⁴². Meanwhile, innovative industries are still rare in XUAR especially in view of the limited research and development capability of XUAR-based institutes of science and technologies. The companies XUAR has attracted that specialize in innovative goods and services are almost all based in other provincial-level units of China, and the construction of industrial parks in Xinjiang has

¹³⁸ A subsidiary of China's major steel-producing SOE, China Baowu Steel Group headquartered in Shanghai.

¹³⁹ "Ethnic enterprises in Xinjiang start using the capital market." [in Chinese] *Tianshannet*, http://news.ts.cn/content/2015-12/16/content_11916705.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ The most famous of such enterprises are Ihlas group and Arman group. Both are pioneers of ethnic minority-owned private enterprises in China.

¹⁴² Anonymous interviews conducted on August 7 of 2015, August 13 of 2016, and March 31 of 2017.

been reliant upon financial aids from those provinces as well. Therefore, XUAR receives 0.5 point on E7. To sum up, XUAR scores 5.75 on a scale of 8 for e_1

Titular cultural promotion

Most of the meetings or sessions in XUAR governmental apparatuses, whether at the ethno-regional or the prefectural level, are conducted in Mandarin Chinese. the Uyghur language is mostly used in settings that require party-state cadres to reach out to Uyghur-speaking masses. Meanwhile, Uyghur is used to a considerable extent in court sessions where Uyghur-speaking plaintiffs or defendants are involved, even if legal documents are usually first prepared in Chinese then translated into Uyghur. Notably, in those parts of Xinjiang where ethnic Uyghurs are concentrated, it has become a usual scene where the entirety of court proceedings is formally conducted in Uyghur. Overall, I assign 0.75 to XUAR on dimension C1.

In XUAR, throughout the first six years of the 2010s, Uyghur has been used as medium of instruction for some subjects in certain pre-tertiary schools (Chinese: *weixiao*, Uyghur-instructed schools) while merely taught as a subject in other pre-tertiary schools (Chinese: *shuangyu xuexiao*, or “bilingual” schools). Other titular languages used as medium of instruction in XUAR include Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Oiratic Mongolic, and Xibe. In “bilingual” schools, titular languages are taught as subject, and the language of instruction is Mandarin Chinese for the rest of the curricula. More emphasis has been placed upon the development of Mandarin Chinese knowledge and skills among ethnic Uyghur schoolchildren. In higher education, except for the few departments where ethnically-specific knowledge is produced or experts with such knowledge are trained,

the language of formal instruction is exclusively Mandarin Chinese. Overall, XUAR receives 0.5 on dimension C6.

As regards use of the titular language and scripts in public sphere, Uyghur has been used to a limited extent in the publications of Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences but more extensively used in print media, radio, TV, and internet. In 2009, a total of 4,865 kinds of books, 94 kinds of magazines, and 39 kinds of newspapers were published in ethnic-minority scripts in XUAR (Economic and Development Department of the PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission & Department of Integrated Statistics of the PRC National Bureau of Statistics 2011, 706, 709, 711). Eight publishing houses in XUAR publish books in Uyghur. Also in 2009, a total of 216,381 hours plus 21 minutes of Uyghur-language radio broadcastings, a total of 241,917 hours plus 3 minutes of Uyghur-language TV programs, and 85,190 hours plus 20 minutes of Kazakh-language TV programs were produced (Economic and Development Department of the PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission & Department of Integrated Statistics of the PRC National Bureau of Statistics 2011, 714-715). As of 2016, the XUAR TV station operates six exclusively Uyghur-language TV channels¹⁴³. Uyghur-language websites, though many of which closed down after the 2009 violent incidents in Ürümqi, are still the most commonly visited and the most visible of all ethnic minority script websites in China. Uyghur is also the most commonly used ethnic minority script in China's utmost social media app, WeChat (Chinese: *weixin*). Overall, there has been ubiquitous informal,

¹⁴³ XJTV-2, XJTV-5, XJTV-9, XJTV-13, XJTV-14, XJTV-15.

conversational use of the titular language in public sphere in XUAR, and accordingly, I assign 1 point to XUAR on dimension C2.

In XUAR, there has been strictly controlled, highly primordial historiography with regard to the “ethno-genesis” of ethnic Uyghurs, ethnic Kazakhs, etc. Debates in these areas are discouraged, and individuals tend to self-censure¹⁴⁴ their discussions of these topics. The “origins” of ethnic Uyghurs are officially either linked to the ancient Uyghur Khaganate based on the Mongolian plateau or simply left unaddressed¹⁴⁵, while the “origins” of ethnic Kazakhs are officially linked to the ancient polity of Wusun based in the Ili River valley¹⁴⁶. Those Oirats (or Kalmyks, classified as ethnic “Mongol” in China) whose ancestors migrated from the lower reaches of Volga to what is today’s Xinjiang during the Qing dynasty are officially lauded for their “patriotism.”¹⁴⁷ Although the periods of the medieval Chagatai Khanate (or Moghulistan) and Golden Horde (or Ulus of Jochi) were crucial for the formation of shared consciousness among ethnic Uyghurs and Kazakhs, history of these periods is understudied in XUAR. The historical linkages between the ethnic non-Han populations of XUAR and populations outside PRC are downplayed. Notions, if labeled as pan-Turkism, pan-Islamism, self-determination, etc. will be officially characterized as “erroneous thoughts” (Standing Committee of the XUAR 12th People’s Congress 2016, 30) and sanctioned. Overall, I assign 0 point to XUAR on dimension C3.

¹⁴⁴ Based upon the author’s observations.

¹⁴⁵ Based upon visits to the following museums: XUAR Museum, IKAP Museum, Museum of Kashgar, Museum of Qumul, Museum of the Bayingholin Mongol Autonomous Prefecture.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

The XUAR state has been regulating the forms and interpretations of religious practices by incorporating clergies into such state apparatuses as the XUAR Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission and the XUAR Islamic Association. The XUAR state has also been actively regulating those who are allowed to practice religions and those who are not. Minors are prohibited from participating in religious activities, while religious activities are forbidden in state apparatuses, schools (except those which train clergies), and non-entrepreneurial institutions affiliated to the state¹⁴⁸. Overall, I assign a score of 0.5 to XUAR on dimension C4.

Preferential treatment in terms of matriculating students into higher education institutions has been systematically practiced with regard to students of ethnic minority categories¹⁴⁹ who take the college entrance exams in Chinese rather than in titular languages (i.e. Uyghur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Mongolian¹⁵⁰), usually in the forms of bonus scores or lowered thresholds. Notably, ethnic Han students also receive bonus scores or lowered thresholds if they choose to take the college entrance exam in titular languages¹⁵¹. Starting 2000, “Xinjiang cohorts” (Chinese: *xinjiangban*) have been established in senior high schools in a number of provinces and municipalities of PRC, recruiting mostly students of ethnic minority categories and native to Xinjiang. As of 2009, 6,803 students were newly enrolled in such Xinjiang cohorts, and a total of 19,165 students were studying in such cohorts (Economic and Development Department of the PRC State Ethnic Affairs

¹⁴⁸ XUAR Regulations on Religious Affairs, Articles 31, 37.

¹⁴⁹ Not applicable to ethnic Manchus.

¹⁵⁰ Using the exams officially designed in NMAR rather than using local Oiratic dialects.

¹⁵¹ “Policies of allocating bonus scores for XUAR-based college entrance exams for 2016,” [in Chinese] available at http://gaokao.eol.cn/xin_jiang/dongtai/201605/t20160524_1401489.shtml (accessed July 31, 2017).

Commission & Department of Integrated Statistics of the PRC National Bureau of Statistics 2011, 699-701). Overall, XUAR receives 1 point on dimension C5. To sum up, XUAR receives 3.75 on a scale of 6 for c_I .

AUTONOMY OUTCOME IN TATARSTAN

Titular political participation

Throughout the first six years of the 2010s, RT has been maintaining a system of state organs separate from the RF's federal system. RT's own system of state organs consists of the President of RT, the State Soviet of RT, the Cabinet of Ministers of RT, and the Constitutional Court of the RT. The federal-level state organs have their branches in Tatarstan (e.g. Federal Security Services, Federal Immigration Services, Federal Statistical Services), but these branches administratively do not overlap with RT's state organs. Formal separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers has also been maintained, even if these organs rarely conflict with one another on legislative agendas, governance, or application of legal codes. The incumbent President of RT, Röstəm Mingnekhanov, is both native to and a citizen of RT no younger than 30 while knowing competently both Tatar and Russian. Thus, he meets the eligibility requirements laid in both the CRT and the 2007 Treaty RFRT. Accordingly, RT scores 1 point on the dimensions of P1, P2, and P3.

The State Soviet of the RT has enacted a series of normative rules and regulations applicable to Tatarstan. Types of such normative rules and regulations include laws (Russian: *zakon*; Tatar: *zakon*, e.g. *Law on Local Self-rule in Tatarstan*, *Law on*

Education, Law on the State Languages of the Republic of Tatarstan and Other Languages in the Republic of Tatarstan), codes (Russian: *kodeks*; Tatar: *kodeks*, e.g. *Ecological Codes of RT, Family Codes of RT, Electoral Codes of RT*), and State Soviet's resolutions (Russian: *postanovleniye*; Tatar: *karar*). Such normative rules and regulations have consistently been prepared bilingually in both Russian and Tatar as of the first six years of the 2010s. Meanwhile, RT has been maintaining a representative office under the President of RF in Moscow. Hence the scores on dimensions P4 and P5 are both 1 point for RT.

As of 2016, the RT state has opened representative offices in Kazakhstan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, France, Bashkortostan (republic of RF), Crimea (annexed republic of RF), Sverdlovsk (oblast' of RF), St. Petersburg (city of federal significance of RF), Uzbekistan, UAE, Nizhny Novgorod (oblast' of RF), Khanty-Mansi (AOk of RF), Czech Republic, and Ukraine. RT has also been an observer member of the International Organization of Turkic Culture (or TÜRKSOY). RT reached a treaty with the Republic of Chuvashia, another ethnic republic of RF, on May 13, 1994. The treaty was renewed on March 15, 2011¹⁵². Meanwhile, RT has been engaged in outreach activities to ethnic Tatars living outside Tatarstan or outside Russia through the umbrella organization called World Congress of Tatars (Tatar: *Bötendönya Tatar Kongressi*). For instance, tuition waiver program has been established for ethnic Tatar students from China who want to pursue higher education in Tatarstan. The RT state has also sponsored ethnic Tatar festive

¹⁵² "Treaty on Co-operations between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Republic of Chuvashia," [in Tatar] March 15, 2011.

gatherings (Tatar: *sabantuy*) among ethnic Tatar communities outside of Russia. Overall, I assign 1 point to RT on each of the P6, P7, P8 dimensions.

At the fourth Convocation (Russian: *sozyv*) of the State Soviet of the RT that held office between 2009-2014, 65 out of the 107 deputies were ethnic Tatars, at a percentage of 60.7%¹⁵³. At the fifth Convocation of the State Soviet of the RT that has been in office since 2014, 64 out of 100 deputies are ethnic Tatar, at a percentage of 64%¹⁵⁴. Since 2014, of the two representatives at the Federal Council of the Russian Federation reserved for the RT, one has been ethnic Tatar¹⁵⁵ while the other being ethnic Russian¹⁵⁶. Of the 15 deputies of the RT elected to the State Duma, 11 have been ethnic Tatar at a percentage of 73.3%¹⁵⁷. These three percentages are significantly higher than ethnic Tatars' population share in the total population of the RT as of 2010, which is 53.2%¹⁵⁸. Judging from these data, RT scores 1 point on dimension P9.

Since 2009, the proportion of ethnic Tatar ministers in the total number of ministers in the RT Cabinet of Ministers has been stable around 88.2% (15 out 17 ministers)¹⁵⁹, which significantly surpasses ethnic Tatars' population share in the total population of the RT as

¹⁵³ S. Mustafina, "A list of the deputies of the 4th Convocation of the State Soviet of the RT (2014)." [in Russian]

¹⁵⁴ Official Website of the RT State Soviet, "Deputies," [in Russian] available at <http://www.gossov.tatarstan.ru/deputaty> (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁵⁵ Ildus Talgatovich Akhmetzyanov.

¹⁵⁶ Oleg Viktorovich Morozov.

¹⁵⁷ Official Website of the RT State Soviet, "Deputies elected from the Republic of Tatarstan at the 7th Convocation of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the RF," [in Russian] available at <http://www.gossov.tatarstan.ru/organization/gosduma7> (accessed July 31, 2017). Ethnic Tatar deputies are Marat Bariev, Murad Gadylshin, Ildar Gilmutdinov, Irek Zinnurov, Alfiya Kogogina, Irshat Minkin, Fatikh Sibagatullin, Airat Farrakhov, Rinat Khairov, Airat Khairullin, and Ravil Khusnullin.

¹⁵⁸ Russian Federation Federal Statistics Service, *All Russia Population Census 2010*, <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed February 28, 2017).

¹⁵⁹ Government of the RT, "Ministries of the Republic of Tatarstan," [in Russian] available at <http://prav.tatarstan.ru/rus/ministries.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017).

of 2010. Accordingly, the score for RT on dimension P10 is 1. To sum up, RT scores 10 on a scale of 10 for p_2 .

Ethno-regional economic development

RT has consistently been contributing more to the federal government's budget than it receives from the federal government in the form of fiscal transfers¹⁶⁰. Thus, RT qualifies as a “donor”¹⁶¹ region in Russia and receives 1 point on dimension E1.

The ratio between RF federal government's budgeted transfer payments to RT and RT's own budgeted tax and non-tax-based revenues was 0.58 for 2010, 0.45 for 2011, 0.3 for 2012, 0.24 for 2013, 0.16 for both 2014 and 2015, and 0.12 for 2016 (Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation 2017; Accounting Chamber of the Republic of Tatarstan 2012; 2013; 2014). In view of the structure of the budgets for the first six years of the 2010s, RT was more reliant upon revenues of its own ethno-regional sources than upon federal transfers. Since the ratio was consistently higher than 0 but no higher than 1, RT scores 1 point on dimension E2.

The GDP per capita of RT has maintained the pattern of exceeding the Russia-wide GDP per capita for statistical years of 2010-2015, as is demonstrated in Table 3.5. Notably, in terms of ethno-regional GDP for the first six years of the 2010s, RT has consistently been one of the most productive constituent entities of RF, ranking only after the City of Moscow, Moscow Oblast', Khanty-Mansi AOk, City of Sankt Petersburg, and Krasnodar

¹⁶⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on May 17 and June 15 of 2016.

¹⁶¹ Robert Coalson and Alsu Kurmasheva, "'Where Is This Country Going?' Debt Crisis Tugs At Russian Federation's Seams," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, <http://www.rferl.org/a/tatarstanrussiadebtcrisiswarofwords/28209393.html> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Krai. Of all the ethnic republics in Russia, RT has consistently stood out as the economically most developed one. Also shown in Table 3.5., RT's unemployment rate has been consistently lower than the national average of the RF from 2010 through 2014. Accordingly, I assign 1 point to RT on both E3 and E4.

Table 3.5. GDP per capita and unemployment rate of the Republic of Tatarstan and of the Russian Federation compared (2010-2015)

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
GDP per capita of Tatarstan (in rubles and US dollars ^a)	₽264,561. 7 \$8680	₽344,092. 5 \$10687	₽376,907. 1 \$12409	₽405,069. 9 \$12376	₽431,913. 8 \$7677	₽474,694. 5 \$6513
GDP per capita of Russia (in rubles and US dollars ^b)	₽263,828. 6 \$8657	₽317,515. 3 \$9862	₽348,641. 5 \$11479	₽377,006. 0 \$11518	₽405,147. 7 \$7202	₽443,950. 7 \$6091
Unemployment rate of Tatarstan (%)	6.2	4.7	4.1	4.0	3.9	4.0
Unemployment rate of Russia (%)	7.3	6.5	5.5	5.5	5.2	5.6

^{a b} Converted according to the exchange rates of December 31, 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015, from the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, http://cbr.ru/currency_base/daily.aspx?date_req=31.12.2010; http://cbr.ru/currency_base/daily.aspx?date_req=31.12.2011; http://cbr.ru/currency_base/daily.aspx?date_req=31.12.2012; http://cbr.ru/currency_base/daily.aspx?date_req=31.12.2013; http://cbr.ru/currency_base/daily.aspx?date_req=31.12.2014 (accessed July 31, 2017)

Sources: "GDP per capita by constituent units of the Russian Federation 1998-2015," http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/accounts/# (Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation, accessed July 31, 2017); *Labor and Employment in Russia 2015* (Moscow: Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation, 2015); *Basic socio-economic indicators of the Republic of Tatarstan 2011-2015* (Kazan: Republic of Tatarstan Branch of the Federal Statistical Service, 2017); "Annual average levels of unemployment of the population of constituent units of the Russian Federation" (Moscow: Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation, April 4, 2017).

Tatarstan's comparative advantages¹⁶² have mostly been concentrated in oil extraction and manufacturings which feature automotive, chemical, and machinery industries, whose infrastructural and technological foundations were laid during the post-WWII soviet era. Most of the oil extractions in Tatarstan has been conducted by *Tatneft*'. Headquartered in Əlmət/Almetyevsk, Tatarstan, *Tatneft*' is one of the biggest oil and gas companies of Russia. 29.7% of RT's industrial output comes from oil extraction, while refinery is conducted either inside Tatarstan by two locally-based petroleum companies, TANECO and TAIF-Nizhnekamsk, or in the Republic of Bashkortostan or the oblast' of Nizhny Novgorod (Gaisin et al. 2013, 57-60). Of the manufacturing sector of RT, Tatarstan leads the entire Russia in terms of the market shares of the following products: 55% of over-16-ton truck vehicles, 24% of tractors, 60% of polystyrene, 50% of polyethylene, 40% of synthetic rubber, and 33% of auto tires (55). The KAMAZ truck plant headquartered in the second largest city of Tatarstan, Yar Challı/Naberezhnye Chelny, has been prestigious internationally for its expertise of truck and engine manufacturing. The AO-Gorky shipyard based in the city of Yəshel Üzən/Zelenodolsk has been building sea and river ships and vessels for over a century¹⁶³. Moreover, RT has been actively pursuing innovative investment policies. The first IT innovation and professional development center of Russia, Innopolis, has been established in the Verkhneuslonskii County (Tatar: *Yugarı Oslan*) of RT. Innopolis has attracted companies

¹⁶² Notably, RT also features a major food/grocery chain called *Bəxetle* that specialize in ethnic Tatar/Halal food production. Owned by ethnic Tatar entrepreneur Möslimə Latıypova, *Bəxetle* has opened stores not only inside Tatarstan but also in Moscow, Novosibirsk, and Barnaul. *Bəxetle* claims to be employing over 5,000 people. See "About the Company" [in Tatar], <https://bahetle.com/tat/info/view/category/15> (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁶³ Made in Tatarstan, "Zelenodolsk Shipyard," available at http://madeintatarstan.com/en/node/5?category_id=212 (accessed July 31, 2017).

that specialize in IT outsourcing, software-development, and electronic business solutions¹⁶⁴. The ratio of innovative goods and services in the republic's GDP in 2010 was reported to be 18%, 1.5-2 times higher than the national average of the RF (50). Nevertheless, innovative industries are still at their inchoate stage of development in RT. To sum up, the score for RT on dimension E5 is 0.75.

The proportion of RT's budgeted expenditures that was covered by RT's own tax or non-tax-based revenues was 57.4% for 2010, 63.7% for 2011, 75.9% for 2012, 80.3% for 2013, 79.6% for 2014, 83.8% for 2015, reaching a new high at 89.4% for 2016 (Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation 2017; Accounting Chamber of the Republic of Tatarstan 2012; 2013; 2014). Considering that the indicators for the first six years of the 2010s follow an upward trend and yield an average of 75%, I assign 1 point to RT on dimension E6. To sum up, RT receives a score of 5.75 on a scale of 6 for e_2 .

Titular cultural promotion

In meetings, sessions or debates of the RT State Soviet, the principally-used language is Russian. Even if most of the top political elites of Tatarstan are ethnically Tatar, and even if many of them are able to speak Tatar fluently, in formal political deliberations, Russian significantly overwhelms Tatar. Usually legal documents are prepared originally in Russian, then, only if necessary, are translated into Tatar. In the executive organs of the RT state, Russian dominates formal conversations, whereas it is unknown to what extent Tatar is being used in formal settings, if it is ever used. Court sessions are predominately

¹⁶⁴ Made in Tatarstan, "IT Services," available at http://madeintatarstan.com/en/catalog?parent_tid=218 (accessed July 31, 2017).

conducted in Russian, and translation and interpretation services between Tatar and Russian will be delivered in the event that either the plaintiff or the defendant is a native speaker of Tatar and has difficulty understanding or expressing himself or herself in Russian. In general, I assign 0.5 point to RT on dimension C1.

In the realm of pre-higher education, the formal recognition of the Tatar language in Tatarstan has been promoted to such an extent that Tatar has become a mandatory subject in nearly all of the pre-tertiary education institutions. As of 2016, there are three types of pre-tertiary education institutions according to languages of instruction in Tatarstan: Tatar-instructed schools, schools of mixed Tatar-Russian instructions, and Russian-instructed schools. The first two types are considered parts of the “national education” system (Russian: *natsional’noe obrazovaniye*). RT boasts of the largest number of higher education institutions as well as the largest student body enrolled in higher education in RF’s Volga Federal District¹⁶⁵ throughout the first six years of the 2010s. However, in higher education institutions in Kazan, formal Tatar-language instruction is largely limited to those departments devoted either to the production of ethnically-specific knowledge or to the training of experts with such knowledge¹⁶⁶. Overall, RT receives 1 point on dimension C6.

The Tatar language has been used to a limited extent in the publications of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences but much more extensively used in print media, radio, TV, and internet. As of 2016, 17 kinds of magazines (of which 3 for children), 56 kinds of

¹⁶⁵ The Volga Federal District includes six ethnic republics (Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, Mordovia, Mari El, Udmurtia), one krai (Perm), and seven oblast’ (Kirov, Nizhegorod, Orenburg, Penza, Samara, Saratov, Ulyanovsk).

¹⁶⁶ An exception can be the Tatar-Russian bilingual instructions conducted in Kazan State University of Architecture and Construction.

newspapers throughout Tatarstan were published in the Tatar language¹⁶⁷. Most of Tatar-language publications come out of one publishing house, Tatarstan Publishing House (Tatar: *Tatarstan Kitaplar Nashriyatı*; Russian: *Tatarskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo*). Moreover, 16 radio channels (both republic-level and county-level), 21 TV¹⁶⁸ channels (both republic-level and county-level) produced programs either fully or partially in the Tatar language¹⁶⁹. Overall, there has been noticeable, but not ubiquitous, informal, conversational use of the Tatar language in public sphere in RT. Russian assumes dominant role as the language in market and of business transactions, and Tatar is featured more often in formal, ethno-cultural events. Accordingly, I assign 0.5 point to RT on dimension C2.

On the “ethno-genesis” of the present-day Kazan Tatar population, the debates between Tatarists, holding that Tatars are heirs of the Golden Horde (Tatar: *Altın Urda*, or Ulus of Jochi), and Bulgarists, holding that Tatars are descendants of Volga Bulgaria¹⁷⁰, can date back to the early 19th century (Kondrashov 2000, 66). The official historiography of the Soviet era was biased against the Tatarist view, and the study of the history of the Golden Horde was even officially banned during the 1940s (68). USSR’s official historical

¹⁶⁷ Association of Distributors of Print Products of Russia, “Print media of Tatarstan: life without postal doping,” [in Russian] July 29, 2014, available at <http://www.arpp.ru/2009-01-28-14-47-44/273089-pechatnye-smi-tatarstana-zhizn-bez-pochtovogo-dopinga.html> (accessed July 31, 2017); Rimma Əbdrəshitova, “A look at the circulation of ethno-national newspapers and magazines one by one,” [in Tatar] *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, <https://www.azatliq.org/a/28627233.html> (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁶⁸ Of them, there were three republic-level TV channels, TNV-Tatarstan, TNV-Planeta, and Rossiya 1-Tatarstan.

¹⁶⁹ Joint-stock media company “Tatmedia,” [in Russian] available at <http://tatmedia.ru/smitatmedia/30> (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁷⁰ A Turkic-speaking polity based in the middle reaches of Volga prior to the “Mongol-Tatar” invasion. The term “Mongol” here refers to the state authority of the Mongol Empire and is conceptually distinct from the present-day ethnic category of “Mongols” in PRC.

narrative¹⁷¹ attributes ethnic Tatars' "ethno-genesis" to Volga Bulgaria and the ancient Volga Bulgar civilization (Vorob'ev, Gainullin et al. 1955, 99). The incorporation in 1552 of Kazan Khanate (Tatar: *Kazan Xanlığı*) into the Muscovy was portrayed as "voluntary" and "progressive", while the population under the Kazan Khanate was portrayed as socio-economically backward (Lazzerini 1981, 629). Since the late 1970s and the early 1980s, historiography of ethnic Tatars has become highly contested and featuring Tatarist-oriented challenges of the official historiography (1981). Following the disintegration of the USSR, the study of the Golden Horde began prospering. As of 2016, the Kazan-based Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the RT has become a center for the study of the history of the Golden Horde and its successor Khanates, such as the Kazan Khanate and the Crimean Khanate. Tatarists' view that ethnic Tatars are the heirs of rather than victims to the Golden Horde has largely been accepted as official historical narrative in Tatarstan, while Bulgarists' claim has also been partially integrated into Tatarists' historical narratives. On the whole, RT receives 1 point on dimension C3.

The RT state has been regulating the forms and interpretations of religious practices through such organizations as the RT Spiritual Board of Muslims (Tatar: *diniyә nәzarәte*). Nevertheless, the RT state does not impose restrictions regarding who are allowed to practice and who are not. In reality, minors are visibly allowed to enter mosques or churches in Tatarstan, and certain governmental officials symbolically participate in religious events. Accordingly, I assign 1 point to RT on dimension C4.

¹⁷¹ According to this narrative, tribal confederation of Volga-Kama Bulgars turned out to be one of the most important components in the ethno-genesis of present-day Kazan Tatars (Vorob'ev, Gainullin et al. 1955, 40). With the conquest by "Mongol-Tatars" of what is today's southern part of the European Russia, the Volga Bulgars, like other nations, lost their independence, marking the beginning of the "yoke" period.

Tatarstan's state flag and emblem have been broadly used throughout the republic, especially over state apparatuses' buildings, on governmental websites, or on state-issued documents. In fact, the presidential residence located in Kazan Kremlin was flying only the RT flag, rather than alongside the flag of the Russian Federation, on its top as of 2016. Moreover, the RT state anthem is sung in both Tatar and Russian on formal occasions. Also notably, the RT state has been actively pushing for historical and archaeological sites of Tatarstan to be listed as UNESCO's World Heritage Sites. By 2016, Tatarstan's Historical and Architectural Complex of the Kazan Kremlin, Bolgar Historical and Archaeological Complex, and Assumption Cathedral and Monastery of the town-island of Sviyazhsk have been recognized by UNESCO as world heritage sites, accounting for 3 out of a total of 17¹⁷² sites thus far recognized in Russia. Hence, the score for RT on dimension C5 is also 1. To sum up, RT receives a score of 5 on a scale of 6 for c_2 .

AUTONOMY AS IMPLEMENTED OUTCOME COMPARED

Based upon the foregoing evaluations, the calculated degree of actually exercised autonomy from 2010 through 2015 is 67.9% for XUAR in China and 93% for RT in Russia. Accordingly, it is argued that level of compliance of implemented autonomy with formally stipulated autonomy has been significantly higher in Tatarstan than in Xinjiang for the first six years of the 2010s.

¹⁷² UNESCO, "World Heritage List," available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Table 3.6. Xinjiang and Tatarstan compared in terms of autonomy as implemented outcome (2010s)

	Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region	Republic of Tatarstan
Titular political participation	6.25/9 = 69.4%	10/10 = 100%
Ethno-regional economic development	5.75/8 = 71.9%	5.75/6 = 95.8%
Titular cultural promotion	3.75/6 = 62.5%	5/6 = 83.3%
Overall	A ₁ = 67.9%	A ₂ = 93.0%

With regard to titular political participation, the level of compliance of actually implemented autonomy with formally prescribed autonomy has been generally higher in Tatarstan than in Xinjiang for the first six years of the 2010s. Concretely, despite continued training of ethnic minority category cadres and preferential recruitment of such cadres in Xinjiang, the titular ethnic category remains underrepresented in the governmental apparatuses of the autonomous region. By contrast, in Tatarstan, not only has the titular ethnic category been overrepresented in the legislative and executive organs of the ethno-regional state, but the ethno-regional state has also been able to establish representative offices outside Russia and to reach out to ethnic Tatars outside Tatarstan.

With regard to ethno-regional economic development, the level of compliance of actually implemented autonomy with formally prescribed autonomy has also been overall higher in Tatarstan than in Xinjiang for the first six years of the 2010s. Specifically, Tatarstan has consistently been contributing more to the budgeted revenues of the federal

government of Russia than it receives from the federal government in the form of fiscal transfers, whereas Xinjiang's budgeted expenditures largely have been reliant upon fiscal transfers from the central government of China. The overall level of productivity of Tatarstan has been higher than the average level in Russia, while the overall level of productivity of Xinjiang has been consistently lagging behind the average level in China. While Tatarstan is taking the lead in Russia in terms of promoting technologically-innovative sectors, Xinjiang's economic specializations have yet to go beyond oil, gas, or agricultural produces.

With regard to titular cultural promotion, the level of compliance of actually implemented autonomy with formally prescribed autonomy has, again, been higher in Tatarstan than in Xinjiang for the first six years of the 2010s. Difference in terms of the use of titular languages turns out more nuanced: Tatar is more featured in the sphere of formal instructions in Tatarstan than Uyghur in Xinjiang, but Uyghur nevertheless tends to be more commonly used in informal, conversational settings in public sphere in Xinjiang than does Tatar in Tatarstan. Regulations on religious practices among Muslims are much more stringent in Xinjiang than in Tatarstan. Meanwhile, state monopolization over historiography also tends to be more conspicuous in Xinjiang than in Tatarstan, where themes discouraged during the Soviet period have prospered in both academia and popular historical narratives.

Autonomy as prescriptive institution has been implemented in both Xinjiang and Tatarstan and therefore may not be simply dismissed as "paper autonomy," but remarkable disparity between the two ethno-regions in terms of respective ethno-regional state's capacity to exercise formally prescribed autonomy has also occurred. Based upon

a controlled comparison, it has been observed that Tatarstan has been significantly more capable of implementing prescribed autonomy than has Xinjiang. Why has there been such a disparity? I will address this question in the upcoming three chapters. In Chapter 6, the external validity of the instrument constructed in this chapter to measure autonomy outcome will be tested to four additional ethno-regions in China and Russia.

4. INTER-ETHNIC BOUNDARY-MAKINGS, TITULAR ELITES, AND AUTONOMY OUTCOME IN XINJIANG

Xinjiang has never hit more headlines than in July 2009, when violent inter-ethnic clashes erupted in the streets of its capital, Ürümqi. The clashes turned Uyghur-Han relations in Xinjiang into one of the hottest topics in China. Since then, governance of XUAR has been treated as a separate, self-standing issue-area for the PRC central-state, which prompted the convening of two sessions of “Xinjiang Work” Forums¹⁷³ in Beijing. On March 1, 2014, attack on civilians at the major railway station of Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province, by individuals whom the government identified as “ethnic Uyghurs”¹⁷⁴ reinforced the negative stereotypes of ethnic Uyghurs as posing “potential threat to public security” in China. In September 2014, Ilham Tohti, a teacher at the Minzu University of China who had been vocally critical of certain policies in Xinjiang, received life sentence¹⁷⁵. In August 2016, Zhang Chunxian, widely viewed as a CCP XUAR secretary who took a more moderate approach towards the governance of Xinjiang (Chinese: *rouxing zhizhang*), was replaced by Chen Quanguo, considered a

¹⁷³ First in 2010 and second in 2014.

¹⁷⁴ Ma Junqing, “Verdict announced at the second trial of those involved in the Kunming Railway Station attack, verdict of the first trial upheld,” [in Chinese] *Xinhuanet*, http://www.xinhuanet.com/photo/2014-10/31/c_127163535.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁷⁵ “Verdict announced at the second trial of Ilham Tohti for separatism” [in Chinese] *Tianshannet*, http://news.ts.cn/content/2014-11/21/content_10743549.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

hardliner¹⁷⁶ in terms of cracking down upon violent resistance or religious revivals as well as strengthening the teaching of Mandarin Chinese among ethnic non-Han populations in Xinjiang. Ethnic Uyghur elites were underrepresented at both the 18th and 19th National Congress of CCP¹⁷⁷ held respectively in 2012 and 2017 in Beijing. In the meantime, ethnic Uyghur cultural workers have become increasingly visible in China's broadcast media and entertainment industry, and more ethnic Uyghur students than ever are learning Mandarin Chinese and expected to develop a competent knowledge of the multiethnic state's *lingua franca*.

Despite state-sponsored efforts to further incorporate ethnic Uyghurs into the economic and social life of China's mainstream, ethnic Uyghurs remain largely politically and discursively marginalized, if not demonized, while XUAR remains considerably less able to implement its prescribed autonomy than, for example, Tatarstan of Russia. Why is it the case? This chapter examines in details the most recent trends in Uyghur-Han inter-ethnic boundary-makings and ethnic Uyghur elites' bargaining capacity in Xinjiang. Based upon both primary and secondary data, I first demonstrate how ethnic Uyghurs' low level of linguistic Sinicization¹⁷⁸ tends to hamper ethnic Uyghur elites' capacity to

¹⁷⁶ Chen Quanguo was the CCP XAR (Tibet) secretary between 2011-2016. His governance style can be characterized as coercive, penetrative, and costly in Tibet and Xinjiang, involving massive social surveillance and forcible "ideological trainings" among the local population (regardless of ethnicity). Characterized as prioritizing crackdowns over economic development, his governance has stirred up controversies.

¹⁷⁷ Ethnic Uyghur delegates made up 0.53% of all delegates to the 18th Congress and 0.57% to the 19th Congress. According to the 2010 census, ethnic Uyghurs constituted 0.75% of the total population of PRC. Calculated from "List of Delegates to the 18th National Congress of CCP," [in Chinese] available at <http://news.cntv.cn/special/18ddbxi/mingdan/index.shtml> (accessed July 31, 2017); "List of Delegates to the 19th National Congress of CCP," [in Chinese] available at http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2017-09/29/c_1121747855.htm (accessed July 31, 2017).

¹⁷⁸ In the sense of developing skills in Sinitic languages (mostly Mandarin Chinese), not in the sense of "becoming ethnically Han."

build cross-ethnic political networks and more collusive, less hierarchical types of relationships with ethnic Han elites. Then I proceed to demonstrate how ethnic Uyghurs' lack of social integration tends not only to exacerbate perceptions of ethnic Uyghurs by the PRC central state but also to translate into more differentiated intra-ethnic socio-economic and cultural contour. Such a contour can obstruct upward social mobility which would encourage ethnic Uyghur populace to identify with or to become themselves elites, which in turn undermines intra-Uyghur cohesion and ethnic Uyghur elites' mobilizing capacity. I conclude the chapter by arguing that ethnic Uyghur elites' less solid relationships with both the central state and their "co-ethnic" masses, coupled with a less-than-positive image of ethnic Uyghurs in the eyes of the central state, have been jointly sufficient for the underrepresentation of ethnic Uyghur elites in the XUAR state organs and their most powerful positions.

UYGHUR-HAN INTER-ETHNIC BOUNDARY-MAKINGS

Acculturation among ethnic Uyghurs and in Xinjiang

Acculturation connotes the processes of linguistic and cultural diffusions and changes resulting in greater linguistic and cultural similarity between populations of the titular ethnic category of the ethno-region and the central state's ethnic majority category. Since the most fundamental marker of cultural differences can be shared languages in which various "societal institutions" (Kymlicka 2001) are exercised, the level of acculturation is operationalized mostly in terms of actual and perceived levels of fluency in the central-state-defined *lingua franca* among the population of an ethno-region's titular ethnic category.

Although censuses in China usually do not survey language uses among the population, few in Xinjiang would disagree with the assertion that, on a visible magnitude, ethnic Uyghurs still prefer to use the Uyghur language “in all but the professional realm” (Finley & Zang 2015, 13). The majority of adult-aged ethnic Uyghur residents in Xinjiang either actively or passively know and use the Uyghur language, but only some of them are bilingual and able to competently use Mandarin Chinese, with the rest knowing only Uyghur. Meanwhile, a sizable minority of the residents of Han and other ethnicities¹⁷⁹ in XUAR know and use mostly conversationally the Uyghur language. In the rural areas of the prefectures of Aksu, Kashgar, Hotan, and Kyzylsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture, the *lingua franca* among individuals of different ethnicities tends to be Uyghur rather than Mandarin Chinese (Li 2015, 404).

Urban-based ethnic Uyghurs tend to place emphasis upon bilingual skills in both Uyghur and Mandarin Chinese, while among the rural-based ethnic Uyghurs, Uyghur language dominates, where proficiency in and enthusiasm about learning Mandarin Chinese tend to be low. Ethnic Uyghur bilinguals are largely composed of students (both *minkaohan*¹⁸⁰ and *minkaomin*¹⁸¹), cadres, various professionals, businesspeople, and any others who interact with ethnic Han frequently enough to require them to know and to use Mandarin Chinese. The proficiency of Mandarin Chinese among younger generations of ethnic Uyghurs has been rising, owing to reinforced teaching of Mandarin Chinese in schools in terms of the training of qualified teachers, increased course hours, preparation of

¹⁷⁹ Hui, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Mongol (Oirat and Chakhar), Tajik (Pamiri), Xibe, Uzbek, Tatar, etc.

¹⁸⁰ Ethnic non-Han (Uyghurs, Kazakhs, etc.) who received pre-tertiary schooling mostly in Mandarin Chinese.

¹⁸¹ Ethnic non-Han (Uyghurs, Kazakhs, etc.) who received pre-tertiary schooling mostly in titular languages (Uyghur, Kazakh, etc.).

textbooks, etc. since the 2000s (Ma 2011, 167). As of 2008, approximately 12-13%¹⁸² of ethnic non-Han students (ethnic Uyghurs, Kazakhs, etc.) in Xinjiang were expected to develop competent knowledge of Mandarin Chinese.

If it is assumed that an education attainment no lower than graduation from senior high schools (Chinese: *gaozhong*)¹⁸³ or residency in urban areas are two sufficient conditions for competent knowledge of Mandarin Chinese for an individual categorized as ethnic Uyghur, then it can be estimated that, according to the 2010 PRC population census, at least 12.9% of ethnic Uyghurs age six and older know competently Mandarin Chinese, while at least 22% of the total population of ethnic Uyghurs in PRC either know competently Mandarin Chinese or are expected to develop competent knowledge in Mandarin Chinese. In contrast with Tatarstan where an ethnic Tatar speaking Russian fluently is an expectation taken for granted, in Xinjiang, an ethnic Uyghur speaking Mandarin Chinese fluently tends to be viewed rather as a bonus, signaling either adequate educational attainment or urban background.

Two mutually competing conceptions about the Uyghur-Han cultural differentiations in Xinjiang were collected from respondents. One is based upon a more primordial understanding, assuming that cultures are internally homogenous and externally bounded. According to such a conception, multiple epistemic communities exist in XUAR, most

¹⁸² As of 2008, 6.6% of all ethnic non-Han students were attending pre-tertiary education institutions where the major medium of instruction was Mandarin Chinese with ethnic languages taught as subjects; 5.8% of ethnic non-Han students were attending exclusively Chinese-instructed pre-tertiary schools (Ma 2011, 167).

¹⁸³ According to respondents' perceptions and the author's observations, among ethnic Uyghurs, usually only those who have graduated from senior high schools or those who live in urban areas are likely to know competently Mandarin Chinese. Otherwise, lack of motivation, mostly monolingual milieu, and shortage of educational resources limit the possibility of achieving competent knowledge in Mandarin Chinese for ethnic Uyghurs living in rural areas.

conspicuous of which is the so-called contrast between the “Confucian” and the “Islamic” values. These values are perceived as overlapping with the Uyghur-Han inter-ethnic boundaries¹⁸⁴. The other conception resembles a constructivist, processual understanding of culture, emphasizing changes and exchanges of knowledge. According to such a conception, history consists of cultural changes and intergroup cultural exchanges. Nevertheless, regardless of ethnicity, the populace tends to have limited exposure to and understanding of the dynamic, intersubjective, historically contingent nature of culture, whereas cultural elites/intellectuals/scholars may have more exposure to and understanding of the fluidity of culture. Respondents of such a conception advocates for improved proficiency in Mandarin Chinese for ethnic Uyghurs to access more, broader knowledge and to produce more knowledge to a broader audience¹⁸⁵.

Nevertheless, several respondents¹⁸⁶ admitted that among ethnic Uyghur populace, a more primordial understanding of culture prevailed. They noted the persistent tendency among a majority of ethnic Uyghurs in XUAR not to enhance their knowledge of Mandarin Chinese and not to enhance their understanding of the knowledge¹⁸⁷ that would be associated with ethnic Han or with other ethnic categories in China. Some respondents¹⁸⁸ candidly acknowledge that “Russian” culture tends to more welcomed among ethnic Uyghurs than “Han” culture, since “Russian” culture is considered more

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7 of 2015, March 4 and August 13 of 2016.

¹⁸⁵ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on March 3 and August 10 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

¹⁸⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7, 2015, March 4, August 2, and August 13 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

¹⁸⁷ In particular, ethnically-specific knowledge such as historical narratives, literature, or spiritual practices.

¹⁸⁸ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7, 2015, March 4, August 2, and August 13 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

“elegant” while “Han” culture is considered difficult to embrace. As a result of such attitude, universal teaching and knowledge among ethnic Uyghurs of Mandarin Chinese as well as of the Chinese characters used to be very limited “in the first fifty years” of XUAR’s history¹⁸⁹. Some individuals even had to psychologically struggle to overcome self-esteem in order to learn Chinese, even if they are aware that Mandarin Chinese is the primary language used by the state authority of XUAR and in the labor market of Xinjiang¹⁹⁰.

Xinjiang boasts of diverse, heterogeneous contours of organized religions. By 2015, a total of around 24,000 mosques were found in XUAR, where around 20,000 state-endorsed clerics were based¹⁹¹. Although Islam is usually considered the predominant religious identity associated with ethnic Uyghurs, boundaries of religious identities do not exactly overlap with ethnic boundaries, much less with linguistic boundaries. Among ethnic Uyghurs, there are also those who do not associate themselves with any religion (relatively few)¹⁹² and those who claim to be Christians. Throughout Xinjiang, Muslims are not necessarily ethnic Uyghurs but also include large populations of ethnic Hui, ethnic Kazakhs, and relatively small populations of ethnic Kyrgyz, ethnic Uzbeks, ethnic

¹⁸⁹ From the 1950s till the early 2000s.

¹⁹⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7, 2015, March 4, August 2, and August 13 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

¹⁹¹ Anonymous interview conducted in Beijing on August 7, 2015.

¹⁹² A first-person narrative by an ethnic Uyghur cadre, İlham Rahim, about being Uyghur while not being Muslim can be found on the social platform WeChat, available at http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?src=11×tamp=1516312191&ver=645&signature=xlpQvOMow9lb0hYD5ulhkktIHSSQvX5PGLj3iHGkgTa6YTVpRNMMfx8k1dQ48*6LbiRDCucv0BvhUBNe4z4iuu*Htli7CdJEWtj7Pe5cVSDlaXswbMHhVE9gr4yDX6&new=1 (accessed July 31, 2017).

Tatars, ethnic Dongxiang, ethnic Salars, etc. Notably, among ethnic Hui in Xinjiang, many claim to be Muslims¹⁹³ while speaking Sinitic dialects as native language.

In sum, despite the slightly lower percentage of ethnic Uyghurs in the population of Xinjiang than that of ethnic Tatars in the population of Tatarstan as of 2010, ethnic Uyghurs are linguistically significantly less Sinicized than are ethnic Tatars Russified. In Xinjiang, more ethnic Uyghurs know and use Uyghur than those who know and use Chinese, whereas bilingual Uyghurs, despite its rising number, make up only a small portion of the ethnic Uyghur population.

Social integration among ethnic Uyghurs and in Xinjiang

Social integration is associated with aggregating the processes of interpersonal, socioeconomic, and spatial interactions relevant to the economy, the polity, and the community among the populations of both an ethno-region's titular ethnic category and the central-state's ethnic majority category. The degree of such social integration of an ethnic group can be assessed according to such demographic indicators as levels of urbanization, educational attainments, intermarriage rates with the majority ethnic group, as well as residential patterns.

According to the 2010 PRC Population Census, the overall level of urbanization in China¹⁹⁴ reached 50.4%, whereas the overall level of higher education¹⁹⁵ reached 9.5%. The overall level of illiteracy in China was 4.88%, while the rate of inter-ethnic

¹⁹³ Following a variety of Sufi Madhabs (Chinese: *menhuan*).

¹⁹⁴ Percentage of urban-based population in the total population of PRC.

¹⁹⁵ Percentage of those who have received tertiary education in the total population of those older than six of PRC.

marriages¹⁹⁶ reached 3%. Among the total married population of ethnically non-Han categories in China, the percentage of those married outside their own ethnic categories reached a much higher level, at 21.9% as of 2010. Of the total population of those ethnic minority categories for whom territorially-based autonomous entities at the provincial, prefectural, and county-levels have been designated, 64.8% were residents in those ethno-regions, with the rest living outside their designated ethno-regions.

To evaluate the country-wide level of social integration for the titular population of an ethno-region in China, I propose the following instrument. It scores a population's level of integration on each of the following five dimensions, urbanization, higher education, illiteracy rate, cross-ethnic marriage rate, and residential concentration within designated ethno-regions. The score of each dimension is assigned a weight of 1/5, generating an aggregate score up to 100%. The higher the score for a population, the higher the level of social integration for a titular ethnic population. For an ethno-region in China, the formula with which to calculate the country-wide level of social integration for its titular ethnic population, SI_1 , is proposed as

$$SI_1 = (Du_1 \times 1/5 + De_1 \times 1/5 + Di_1 \times 1/5 + Dm_1 \times 1/5 + Dr_1 \times 1/5) \times 100\%$$

For a titular population in China, the five dimensions are assessed on an ordinal scale of three categories. Accordingly, a population's score on each of these dimensions will take one of three mutually discrete values:

¹⁹⁶ Percentage of those married outside their own ethnic categories in the total population of those married of PRC.

An ethnic population's level of urbanization is assessed in relation to the national average level of urbanization of China according to the 2010 PRC census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of urbanization divided by the national average level of urbanization. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_u = u_l / 50.4\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 1.98]. When a population is 100% urbanized in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 1.98. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of urbanization significantly lower than national average), then the score, Du_l , will be 0.25. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of urbanization largely comparable to national average), then Du_l will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of urbanization significantly higher than national average), then Du_l will be 1.

An ethnic population's level of higher education is assessed in relation to the national average level of higher education of China according to the 2010 PRC census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of higher education divided by the national average level of higher education. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_e = e_l / 9.5\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 10.5]. When virtually all individuals age 6 and older of an ethnic population have received tertiary education in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 10.5. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of higher education significantly higher than national average), then the score, De_l , will be 1. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of higher education significantly lower than national average), then De_l will be 0.25. If the location quotient of the

population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of higher education largely comparable to national average), then De_I will be 0.75.

An ethnic population's level of illiteracy is assessed in relation to the national average level of illiteracy of China according to the 2010 PRC census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of illiteracy divided by the national average level of illiteracy. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_i = i_i / 4.88\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 20.4]. When virtually all individuals age 15 and older of a population were illiterate in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 20.4. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of illiteracy significantly lower than national average), then the score, Di_I , will be 1. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of illiteracy largely comparable to national average), then Di_I will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of illiteracy significantly higher than national average), then Di_I will be 0.25.

An ethnic population's level of inter-ethnic marriages is assessed in relation to the national average level of inter-ethnic marriages of China according to the 2010 PRC census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of inter-ethnic marriages divided by the national average level of inter-ethnic marriages. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_m = m_i / 3\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 33.3]. When virtually all married individuals of an ethnic population had a spouse whose ethnic category was different from his or hers in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 33.3. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.25, then the score, Dm_I , will be 0. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.25

but lower than 0.75 (level of inter-ethnic marriages significantly lower than national average), then Dm_I will be 0.25. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of inter-ethnic marriages largely comparable to national average), then Dm_I will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of inter-ethnic marriages significantly higher than national average), then Dm_I will be 1.

A titular ethnic population's level of residential concentration is assessed in relation to the proportion of those residing in the designated ethno-regions in the total population of these ethnic minority populations in China according to the 2010 PRC census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of concentration in the ethno-region designated for them divided by the national average level of residential concentration among ethnic minorities in their designated ethno-regions. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_c = c_i / 64.8\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 1.54]. When virtually all individuals of an ethnic population were residing in the ethno-region(s) designated for that ethnic category in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 1.54. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of residential concentration significantly lower than national average), then the score, Dr_I , will be 1. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of residential concentration largely comparable to national average), then Dr_I will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of residential concentration significantly higher than national average), then Dr_I will be 0.25.

Table 4.1. Key indicators of social integration for ethnic Uyghurs in China

	2000	2010
Total Population in the People's Republic of China	8,399,393	10,069,346
% of those living in urban areas	19.4% (China), 19.21% (Xinjiang alone)	22% (China), 21.97% (Xinjiang alone)
% of those who have received tertiary education	2.5% ^a (China)	6.4% ^b (China)
% of those illiterate	9.22% ^c (China)	3.44% ^d (China)
% of those married to ethnic Han	0.62% (China)	0.24% (China)
% of those married to ethnic non-Uyghurs	1.05% (China)	0.53% (China)
% of those living in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region	99.4%	99.3%
% of those living in subnational-level administrative units other than Xinjiang	<1% in Hunan, Henan, Guangdong, Jiangsu, Sichuan, Beijing	<1% in Beijing, Hunan, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Shanghai

^{a b} Age 6 and older.^{c d} Age 15 and older.

Sources: PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2000 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2003); PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013).

Table 4.2. Summary of ethnic Uyghurs' level of social integration in China (2010)

	Location quotient	Score
Urbanization	0.44	0.25
Higher Education	0.67	0.25
Illiteracy	0.7	1
Cross-ethnic marriage	0.18	0
Residential Concentration	1.5	0.25
Total score		35%

As summarized in Tables 4.1. and 4.2., according to the 2010 PRC population census, the overall level of urbanization of ethnic Uyghurs in China was 22%, even lower than half of the national average of 50.4%. Therefore, ethnic Uyghurs score 0.25 on Du_I . The overall percentage of those who had attained tertiary education among ethnic Uyghurs in China was 6.4%, lower than the national average of 9.5%. Thus, ethnic Uyghurs score 0.25 on De_I as well. The overall level of illiteracy among ethnic Uyghurs in China was 3.44%, significantly lower than the national average of 4.88%. Thus, ethnic Uyghurs score 1 on Di_I . The overall percentage of those whose spouses were ethnically non-Uyghur among all married ethnic Uyghurs in China was 0.53%, around one sixth of the national average of 3%. Thus, ethnic Uyghurs score 0 on Dm_I . 99.3% of ethnic Uyghurs in China were residing in Xinjiang, significantly higher than the national average of 64.8% of all ethnic minority populations in China who were residing in their designated ethno-regions. This implies that the chance for the majority of the population outside

Xinjiang in China to frequently interact with ethnic Uyghurs can be relatively small. Accordingly, ethnic Uyghurs score 0.25 on Dr_I . To sum up, the calculated country-wide level of social integration for the total population categorized as ethnic Uyghurs in China is 35% as of 2010.

Higher level of social closure among ethnic Uyghurs is confirmed, either explicitly or implicitly, by almost all of my respondents regardless of their ethnicity. Several of my respondents noted the growing residential self-segregation¹⁹⁷ since the inter-ethnic clashes in 2009. Meanwhile, maintaining cross-ethnic friendship has become more challenging for both ethnic Uyghurs and ethnic Han alike in Xinjiang. A lack of cross-ethnic emotional ties and of enthusiasm in reaching out to individuals “on the other side” at both elite and mass levels is observable among both populations alike¹⁹⁸. Moreover, XUAR government’s attempts to counter segregational trends were hindered by cultural issues such as location of mosques as well as by occupational structures of the two populations¹⁹⁹. Despite the expansion of *neigaoban*²⁰⁰ and *neizhaoban*²⁰¹, *minkaohan* students still tended to prefer to move back to Xinjiang after completing their college education. Many of them had to work in informal sectors before possibly moving onto formal positions²⁰². SOEs in Xinjiang tend to be less enthusiastic about recruiting ethnic Uyghur employees, usually citing such concerns as Uyghur-instructed education system

¹⁹⁷ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7, 2015, March 4, August 2, and August 13 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Cohorts of ethnic non-Han students from Xinjiang admitted into senior high schools in other provincial-level units of China.

²⁰¹ Cohorts of ethnic non-Han students from inside Xinjiang admitted into junior high schools in major cities of Xinjiang.

²⁰² Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7, 2015, March 4, August 2, and August 13 of 2016.

considered of relatively low quality, insufficient Chinese-language skills, underdeveloped professional training, and potential need to accommodate religious practices²⁰³.

Uyghur-Han marriages have never been a common phenomenon in Xinjiang and is becoming even rarer. In the 1950s, CCP XUAR committee once prohibited ethnic Han males from marrying ethnic non-Han females (Li 2015, 436). Later this policy was terminated, and Uyghur-Han intermarriage rate is believed to have reached a record high in the 1960s. Nevertheless, Uyghur-Han intermarriages became rarer and rarer since the 1980s (436-437). While respondents of various ethnicities²⁰⁴ in Xinjiang pointed to the extreme rarity of Uyghur-Han marriages, some did mention that such marriages, even if having occurred, will still risk shaming from both ethnic communities or ending up in divorces. Several respondents²⁰⁵ attribute the intermarriage rarity to the possibility of prejudices based upon perceived phenotypical differences, instead of religious identities, among ethnic Uyghurs towards ethnic Han. According to them, ethnic Han tend to be somehow more open to marriages with ethnic Uyghurs than do Uyghurs towards marriages with ethnic Han²⁰⁶. Also notably, ethnic Uyghurs' overall intermarriage rate with ethnic Han is one of the lowest of all ethnic minorities in China, which marks the extraordinarily conspicuous inter-ethnic distance between ethnic Uyghurs and Han. A significant proportion of ethnic Uyghurs married to ethnic Han spouses actually live

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Respondents of Uyghur, Han, Kazakh, Hui, Tatar, Mongol, Tajik, Xibe, Uzbek ethnicities.

²⁰⁵ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, July 30 and August 10 of 2016.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

outside XUAR or are originally from other provinces such as Hunan²⁰⁷ and Henan²⁰⁸ (433).

Some respondents believe that the level of social closure among ethnic Uyghurs has more or less risen in the last one decade and that it may negatively impact in the long run ethnic Uyghurs' prospect of broader participation in the China-wide labor market, of social mobility, and of economic development²⁰⁹. Other respondents, nevertheless, tend to treat growing economic inequality as a “cause” of growing Uyghur-Han segregation in Xinjiang. They pointed to the reversal of economic positions, wherein ethnic Han were initially worse off than ethnic Uyghurs economically but subsequently became better off, and economic inequality tends to be ever-growing between Uyghurs and Han. Moreover, they perceive SOEs based in Xinjiang as “enclaves”, over-extracting natural resources from the localities but not addressing the issues of local social welfare²¹⁰.

Compared to the tendency among ethnic Uyghurs towards social closure from ethnic Han, ethnic Kazakhs in Xinjiang tend to demonstrate more enthusiasm in terms of social integration. Mostly concentrated in the northern part of Xinjiang²¹¹, ethnic Kazakhs tend to be slightly more urbanized than ethnic Uyghurs, at 23.3% China-wide as of 2010. The

²⁰⁷ Hunan Province boasts of one of the largest communities of ethnic Uyghurs outside XUAR in China (6,716 as of 2010). It is claimed that ancestors of Hunan Uyghurs migrated from what is today's Qumul (Hami) Municipality of XUAR to what is today's Changde Municipality of Hunan Province during the Ming dynasty. Hunan Uyghurs speak local Sinitic dialect.

²⁰⁸ Henan Uyghurs (3,035 as of 2010) are concentrated in Mianchi County (763 as of 2010), Sanmenxia Municipality. They speak local Sinitic dialect. It is claimed that ancestors of Mianchi Uyghurs migrated from Central Asia during the Yuan dynasty.

²⁰⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7 of 2015, March 4, August 13 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

²¹⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on July 30 and August 13 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

²¹¹ Ürümqi Municipality, Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture, Qumul Municipality, Bortala Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, Karamay Municipality.

percentage of ethnic Kazakhs who have received higher education is also higher than that of ethnic Uyghurs, at 8.8% China-wide. Merely 1.12% of ethnic Kazakhs are illiterate. 2.5% of married ethnic Kazakhs China-wide have spouses who are not ethnic Kazakh, five times the inter-ethnic marriage rate of ethnic Uyghurs. 79.4% of ethnic Kazakhs are concentrated in either the prefectural-level²¹² or the county-level²¹³ ethno-regions designated for them. Though ethnic Kazakhs of China are eligible for Kazakhstani citizenship, the vast majority of them are not emigrating to Kazakhstan, reckoning better economic prospect in China, and the total population of ethnic Kazakhs in China rose from 1,250,458 as of 2000 to 1,462,588 as of 2010. Some respondents confirm that Kazakh-Han intermarriages tend to be more common than Uyghur-Han intermarriages. Alluding to ethnic Kazakhs' emphasis upon adequate representation in state organs, one of the respondents gave a simplex, stereotypical juxtaposition of ethnic Kazakhs with ethnic Uyghurs: "Kazakhs are more politically-minded, while Uyghurs are more economically-minded."²¹⁴

With regard to residential patterns, ethnic Uyghur residents and ethnic Han residents in Xinjiang follow drastically segregated patterns of distribution. As shown in Table 4.3, as of 2010, the majority of ethnic Han in XUAR, at 67.1%, were concentrated in the area north of the Tianshan Mountains (Chinese: *Beijiang*), while the majority of ethnic Uyghur in XUAR, at 81%, were concentrated in the area south of the Tianshan Mountains (Chinese: *Nanjiang*). 96% of ethnic Kazakhs in Xinjiang were concentrated in

²¹² Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture.

²¹³ Mori Kazakh Autonomous County under Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture and Barköl Kazakh Autonomous County under Qumul (Hami) Municipality.

²¹⁴ Anonymous interview conducted in Beijing on April 4, 2017.

Beijiang. Only in the area east of the Tianshan Mountains (Chinese: *Dongjiang*), its share of ethnic Uyghurs in the total population of ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang was largely comparable to its share of ethnic Han in the total population of ethnic Han in Xinjiang. In *Beijiang*, its share of ethnic Uyghurs in the total population of ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang was approximately five times lower than its shares of ethnic Han in the total population of ethnic Han in Xinjiang. In *Nanjiang*, its share of ethnic Uyghurs in the total population of Uyghurs in Xinjiang was four times higher than its share of ethnic Han in the total population of ethnic Han in Xinjiang. From 1944 through 2010, the population share of those classified as ethnic Uyghurs in the total population of Xinjiang dropped from 74.5%²¹⁵ to 45.8%. The share, however, has been rising since 2010, reaching 49% as of 2014²¹⁶. Meanwhile, the population share of those classified as ethnic Han in the total population of Xinjiang rose from 5.5% in 1944²¹⁷ to 40.5% in 2010. The share, however, has been falling since 2010, reaching 37.4% as of 2014. The growth of the absolute population of ethnic Han in Xinjiang can mostly be attributed to state-sponsored or voluntary in-migration from other provincial-level units of PRC since 1949, while the growth of the absolute of ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang can mostly be attributed to relatively high fertility rate²¹⁸.

In Ürümqi, the capital of XUAR, ethnic Han tend to be more concentrated in the northern part of the city while ethnic Uyghurs tend to be more concentrated in the southern part. Respondents tend to agree that such residential patterns were reinforced after the violent

²¹⁵ Around 2,988,500. (Li 2015, 49)

²¹⁶ Statistical Bureau of the XUAR, *2015 Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook*.

²¹⁷ Around 222,400. (Li 2015, 49)

²¹⁸ 1.991 as of 2000 and 1.842 as of 2010.

incidents in July 2009. As of 2010, 49.1% of ethnic Uyghurs in Ürümqi live in Tianshan District (southern Ürümqi). Meanwhile, only 18.2% of ethnic Han in Ürümqi live in Tianshan District, and their largest concentration is found in Yengisheher/Xinshi District (northern Ürümqi). Overall, where ethnic Uyghur floating population are more concentrated, there tends to smaller ethnic Han resident population (Policy Study Department of CCP Ürümqi Committee 2016, 28-29). Similar trends of inter-ethnic self-segregation and intra-ethnic concentration are also discernable in other urban centers of XUAR such as Ghulja/Yining²¹⁹, Kashgar²²⁰, Korla²²¹, Qumul²²², Kucha²²³, Bortala²²⁴, etc.

Table 4.3. Population and distribution of ethnic Uyghurs, ethnic Han, and ethnic Kazakhs in Xinjiang (2010)

Total Population	Total ethnic Uyghurs (% of the total population of that region)	% of all ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang	Total ethnic Han (% of the total population of that region)	% of all ethnic Han in Xinjiang	Total ethnic Kazakhs (% of the total population of that region)	% of all ethnic Kazakhs in Xinjiang
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²¹⁹ Ethnic Uyghurs concentrated in the northern and eastern parts of the city, while ethnic Han concentrated in the western and southern parts.

²²⁰ The population resident in the reconstructed Old City area is majority ethnically Uyghur.

²²¹ Ethnic Uyghurs concentrated around the major mosque.

²²² Ethnic Uyghurs concentrated in the Huicheng Township. The rest of the city is majority ethnically Han.

²²³ Ethnic Uyghurs concentrated in the Old City area.

²²⁴ Ethnic Uyghurs concentrated in certain neighborhoods.

Xinjiang	21,815,815	10,001,302	100%	8,829,994	100%	1,418,278	100%
Uyghur		(45.8%)		(40.5%)		(6.5%)	
Autonomous							
Region							
North	9,681,006	1,269,837	12.7%	5,923,474	67.1%	1,360,840	96%
(Beijiang)		(13.1%)		(61.2%)		(14.0%)	
Ürümqi	3,112,559	387,878	3.9%	2,331,654	26.4%	68,076	4.8%
(Municipality)		(12.5%)		(74.9%)		(2.2%)	
Karamay	391,008	44,866	0.45%	319,265	3.6%	11,620	0.85%
(Municipality)		(11.5%)		(81.6%)		(3.1%)	
Ili Kazakh	4,305,244	714,381	7.1%	1,908,483	21.6%	1,103,441	77.8%
Autonomous		(16.6%)		(44.3%)		(25.6%)	
Prefecture							
(IKAP)							
<i>Areas directly</i>	2,482,592	667,202	6.7%	874,379	9.9%	534,398	37.7%
<i>administered</i>		(26.9%)		(35.2%)		(21.5%)	
<i>by IKAP</i>							

<i>Tacheng</i>	1,219,369	38,476	0.38%	801,541	9.1%	240,890	17%
<i>Prefecture</i> <i>(IKAP)</i>		(3.1%)		(65.8%)		(19.8%)	
<i>Altay</i>	603,283	8,703	0.09%	232,563	2.6%	328,153	23.1%
<i>Prefecture</i> <i>(IKAP)</i>		(1.5%)		(38.6%)		(54.4%)	
Changji Hui	1,428,587	63,606	0.64%	1,075,852	12.2%	133,286	9.4%
Autonomous Prefecture		(4.5%)		(75.3%)		(9.3%)	
Bortala	443,608	59,106	0.59%	288,220	3.3%	44,417	3.1%
Mongol Autonomous Prefecture		(13.3%)		(64.9%)		(9.9%)	
East (Dongjiang)	1,195,305	531,240	5.3%	552,818	6.3%	51,600	3.6%
		(44.2%)		(45.8%)		(4.2%)	
Turpan	622,903	429,527	4.3%	155,863	1.8%	399	
(Prefecture until 2015, since then Municipality)		(69%)		(25%)			

Qumul (Prefecture until 2016, since then Municipality)	572,400	101,713 (17.8%)	1%	396,955 (69.4%)	4.5%	51,201 (8.9%)	3.6%
South (Nanjiang)	10,168,548	8,091,475 (79.5%)	81%	1,726,885 (17.0%)	19.5%	2,125 (0.02%)	<0.5%
Bayingholin Mongol Autonomous Prefecture	1,278,486	406,942 (31.8%)	4.1%	757,983 (59.3%)	8.6%	1,091	
Aksu (Prefecture)	2,370,809	1,799,512 (75.9%)	18%	542,713 (22.9%)	6.1%	555	
Kyzylsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture	525,570	339,926 (64.6%)	3.4%	35,629 (6.8%)	0.41%	88	
Kashgar (Prefecture)	3,979,321	3,606,779 (90.7%)	36.1%	318,281 (8%)	3.6%	306	

Hotan	2,014,362	1,938,316	19.4%	72,279	0.82%	85	
(Prefecture)		(96.2%)		(3.6%)			
Areas	770,886	108,750	1.1%	626,817	7.1%	3,713	0.26%
directly		(14.1%)		(81.3%)		(0.48%)	
administered							
by XUAR^a							

^a These areas are under the jurisdiction of Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC).
Source: PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013).

Overall for the past three decades, ethnic Uyghurs both China-wide and in Xinjiang alone display greater tendency towards social self-segregation from ethnic Han, especially in terms of endogamy and concentrated living, even if the XUAR state has been rhetorically encouraging greater inter-ethnic socializations and cultural exchanges²²⁵. As demonstrated in the following discussion on psychological identification, ethno-national consciousness among Uyghurs tends to be self-reinforcing in everyday interactions, rendering the Uyghur-Han inter-ethnic distinction even thicker and more salient.

Psychological identification among ethnic Uyghurs

Psychological identification lays the micro-foundation for group consciousness at the individual level. This dimension is analyzed on two aspects, the degree of thickness and

²²⁵ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7 of 2015, March 4, August 2, and August 13 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

the salience of an ethno-region's titular ethnic category against massive identity shift into the central state's ethnic majority category²²⁶. Throughout the 2000s and 2010s, the major tendency among ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang has been that ethnic consciousness not only remains robust but also is growing thicker or more salient.

Thickness In Xinjiang, the category "Uyghur" tends to be perceived as co-extensive with the category "Muslim". The major tendency tends to "require" an ethnic Uyghur to identify at least as a "nominal" Muslim, to speak Uyghur "like a native speaker", and not to marry an ethnic Han. For party-state cadres in Xinjiang²²⁷, it occurs sometimes to find it difficult to separate religious practices from ethnic customs among ethnic Uyghurs, since a number of cultural practices/behavioral patterns such as holidays, fasting, circumcision, etc. can be framed in terms of either "religious norms" or "ethnic customs." Meanwhile, social issues (Chinese: *shehui wenti*) such as poverty and income inequality, unemployment, high divorce rates, drug abuse, spread and control of HIV²²⁸, criminal activities, and so forth tend to be "ethnicized" (Wimmer 2013b, 27) and framed as

²²⁶ For a more detailed definition of psychological identification, see the sub-section "Components of the Analytical Framework" in Introduction.

²²⁷ The rationale behind distinguishing religious norms from ethnic customs is the assumption that ethnic customs are something that should be protected and promoted by the state while religious norms risk contributing to radicalization of worldviews and should be closely monitored. Anonymous interview conducted on August 7, 2015.

²²⁸ The city of Ghulja/Yining and its vicinity are considered one of the areas of the most serious concern for HIV-related issues in Xinjiang. Relevant public health measures are visible, especially in certain hotels, where Uyghur-Chinese bilingual boards on HIV prevention are prominently presented, with free contraceptive devices provided in each room. The majority of HIV cases in Xinjiang were reported to be sexually transmitted. Xia Lijuan, "By 2015, the proportion of sexually-transmitted HIV cases in Xinjiang has reached 85.5%," [in Chinese] *Yaxinwang*, <http://xj.people.com.cn/n/2015/1125/c188514-27172079.html> (accessed December 31, 2017).

“ethnic issues” (Chinese: *minzu wenti*)²²⁹ in XUAR if they involve individuals of non-Han ethnic categories.

Some respondents²³⁰ made it explicit that the tendency in Xinjiang to equate religiously-based cleavages with ethnically-based distinctions was more or less “detrimental”²³¹. In their views, religious identities can run the risk of justifying violence if they are used as tools for power struggles or for social controls in terms of forcing people to take sides between “believers” and “infidels”²³². In addition, they lament the trend among both elites and masses regardless of ethnicity to “peculiarize” issues either related to ethnically non-Han populations or related to religions (Chinese: *teshuhua minzu zongjiao wenti*). For an alternative, they suggest delinking the ethnicity of those involved in such issues from the “nature” of such issues and integrating such issues into the jurisdiction of the most relevant branches of government. Concretely, they argue against leaving any issue that can hastily be labeled as “ethnic” or “religious” to the Ethnic Affairs Commissions (Chinese: *minwei*)²³³ at different administrative levels.

Other respondents tended to look at the inter-ethnic distinction between ethnic Uyghurs and ethnic Han more primordially. They believed that such distinctions were marked by differing behavioral norms and knowledge structures. Examples include but are not confined to eating Halal, dressing in specific ways, speaking Uyghur with co-ethnics, concentrated living, distinct naming pattern, implicitly viewing ethnic Uyghurs as

²²⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7 of 2015, March 4, August 13 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

²³⁰ Many of such respondents were ethnic non-Han cadres.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

culturally and phenotypically akin to populations of Central and Southwest Asia while distancing themselves from ethnic Han, who are perceived as “different” culturally and phenotypically, etc. The overall attractiveness of the stereotyped image about ethnic Han (e.g. as “hard-working”, “economically-driven”, “non-religious”, “Confucian”, or “Buddhist”) and about the Sinitic languages (e.g. as “alien” and “complicated”) among ethnic Uyghurs tends to be fairly low. As some of my respondents put, even destitute Uyghurs may look down upon wealthy Han simply based upon the cognition that “they are Han.” Outside Xinjiang, due to their perceived linguistic and cultural resemblance to ethnic Han, Hunan Uyghurs are less perceived as “co-ethnics” by ethnic Uyghur masses in XUAR than by certain ethnic Uyghur cultural or political elites (Huang 2014, 161-175). In addition to differentiations in terms of daily behavioral norms or knowledge structure, a sense of crisis rose²³⁴ among Uyghurs in the process of making sense of the question as to “why culturally less attractive Han are becoming powerful both politically and economically in relation to the culturally more attractive us.”

Moreover, there is the tendency among ethnic Uyghurs to require their ethnic identity to align with the linguistic identity of being a Uyghur speaker (Zang 2015). It can be negatively perceived by co-ethnics if an ethnic Uyghur’s first language is Mandarin Chinese rather than Uyghur (Finley and Zang 2015, 16), since the combination of Uyghur ethnicity and lack of knowledge of the Uyghur language, though increasingly common among *minkaohan* in such urban centers as Ürümqi, stands against the dominant image of “authenticity” (14-18) that requires ethnic Uyghurs to have overlapping ethnic and

²³⁴ Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on July 30, August 13 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

linguistic identities. Will Kymlicka notes that such emphasis upon “authenticity” tends to be associated with self-isolation from other cultures (2001, 208-209). However, self-isolation from which culture in this regard seems more or less selective. For instance, more enthusiasm in the learning of languages other than Mandarin Chinese, such as English, Russian, Turkish, French, etc. among certain ethnic Uyghurs (Finley and Zang 2015, 11) can be evinced in the variety of Uyghur-language textbooks, phrasebooks, and dictionaries intended for the learning of “foreign languages” in the Xinhua bookstore on Yan’anlu, Ürümqi.

Overall, the Uyghur-Han boundary in Xinjiang grows thicker as the simply descent-based cleavage increasingly overlap with perceived cultural, phenotypical, and socio-economic differences. The most common boundary-making strategy adopted among ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang tends to be boundary-contraction²³⁵. The discursive emphasis upon “authenticity”²³⁶, or overlapping dimensions of identities, remains strong. Consequently, one can rely upon more than one type of clues to tell ethnic Uyghurs from ethnic Han. For instance, in terms of type of names, ethnic Uyghurs usually bear multisyllabic given names and patronyms, with the given names preceding the patronyms and both parts distinctly transliterated into Chinese characters²³⁷. Ethnic Han, on the other hand, usually bear monosyllabic family names and either monosyllabic or bi-syllabic given names, using most of the time no more than three Chinese characters. In terms of language spoken and accent, ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang are presumed as knowing Uyghur while

²³⁵ The strategy of boundary-contraction aims at promoting narrower, more stringent boundaries than those already established in the social landscape (Wimmer 2008, 987).

²³⁶ Those among my respondents who frown upon “assimilation tendencies,” regardless of their ethnicity, tend to admire the perceived “cultural authenticity” (Chinese: *wenhua chun*) among ethnic Uyghurs.

²³⁷ Hunan and Henan Uyghurs follow the Han-style naming pattern.

pronouncing Mandarin Chinese with distinct accents²³⁸. Ethnic Han in Xinjiang, on the other hand, are presumed as knowing only Mandarin Chinese or a Sinitic dialect and rarely knowing Uyghur, Kazakh, etc. In terms of religious identities, ethnic Uyghurs are automatically presumed as “Muslim” even if some of them do not identify as such. Ethnic Han, on the other hand, are usually stereotyped as atheists, polytheists, or Buddhists, etc.

Salience Uyghur-Han boundaries in Xinjiang have been socially salient, as they matter in a variety of issue areas such as what language to use and when, where to live, how likely and in what job positions to be employed, whom to interact with and how, what types of education trajectory to traverse, and so forth. Concretely, Uyghur is supposed to be mostly used when conversations involve only ethnic Uyghurs, whereas Chinese is supposed to be used when conversations involve both ethnic Uyghurs and non-Uyghurs. Ethnic Uyghurs with relatively lower education attainments usually follow concentrated patterns of living in urban areas, largely self-isolated from ethnic Han. Ethnic Uyghurs tend to be more likely to be employed as security guards, police agents, teachers in bilingual elementary and secondary schools, or cadres, while ethnic Han in Xinjiang not only dominate positions in most of the professional sectors but also more likely to be employed in state-owned and private enterprises. Ethnic Uyghurs usually are expected to attend either Uyghur-instructed or bilingual elementary and secondary schools, while ethnic Han rarely attend Uyghur-instructed or bilingual elementary and secondary schools but mostly attend exclusively Chinese-instructed schools (Chinese: *hanxiao*).

²³⁸ *Minkaohan* usually speak Mandarin Chinese with native fluency and not distinguishable from other Chinese speakers.

The ethnic category marked on one's governmentally-issued identification paper matters tremendously. The category "Uyghur" marked on governmentally-issued ID card often implies extra inspection at security checkpoints or extra wait time in passport applications with a longer list of "proof documents" (Chinese: *zhengming wenjian*) required²³⁹. If one's ID card is issued by XUAR Bureau of Public Security, then regardless of ethnicity, he or she, if traveling in other provincial-level units of China, would be expected to register with local branches of public security bureau and at times face difficulty finding accommodations²⁴⁰.

UYGHUR ELITES' BARGAINING CAPACITY

Uyghur-Han elite-level relations

Elite-level inter-ethnic relations is analyzed on two aspects, nature of elite-level relationship and networks of elite-level political alliances. In Xinjiang, lower level of linguistic Sinicization among ethnic Uyghurs has contributed to less collusive, more hierarchical types of relationships between ethnic Uyghur and ethnic Han elites.

In Xinjiang, the earliest ethnic Uyghur elites working for the government of the XUAR were mostly those who participated in the so-called "Three-District Revolution"²⁴¹ in the 1940s (Zhu & Wang 2015, 161). However, this group of elites were mostly purged

²³⁹ The procurement of such "proof documents" usually relies upon informal, personal connections in various governmental or social organizations, or the so-called *guanxi*. Anonymous interviews conducted in Beijing and Ürümqi on August 7 of 2015, March 4, August 13 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

²⁴⁰ If local hotels decline to accommodate the individual, then he or she usually still has the option of lodging in the guest house run by the XUAR representative office in the locality (Chinese: *xinjiang banshichu*).

²⁴¹ Or "East Turkestan Republic".

during consecutive political campaigns, and since the founding of the XUAR in 1955, Uyghur elites have been continuously underrepresented in the XUAR state organs²⁴². Such underrepresentation results from two structural conditions that did not change significantly in the past six decades. On one hand, the XUAR government is directed by ethnic Han cadres of higher position ranks (both in Beijing and in Ürümqi) and its decision-makings are mostly conducted in Chinese. On the other hand, Uyghurs tend to be linguistically Sinicized to a very limited degree and perceived as such not only among ethnic Han but also among other ethnic minority populations in China. The percentage of ethnic Uyghurs who can effectively communicate in Mandarin Chinese, despite their rising absolute number in the recent years, has barely reached a majority threshold.

As an implication of the low degree of linguistic Sinicization among Uyghurs, a dominant discursive hierarchy has formed, wherein ethnic Uyghur elites are usually presumed among ethnic Han elites as having limited skills in Mandarin Chinese, therefore as less than competent and should receive additional training to fill governmental positions (XASS Research Team 1991, 161-176). Starting the 1980s, there has been calls for greater representation of ethnically non-Han elites in the XUAR state organs (Chinese: *minzu ganbu de bili fuhe qi renkou bili*) from among ethnically non-Han elites in Xinjiang. This somehow alarmed certain then-incumbent ethnic Han elites in XUAR and prompted them to start framing such calls as “rising local nationalism and potential secessionist threat to the territorial integrity of China.” Ethnic Han elites lobbied to Deng Xiaoping, through the former military boss of XUAR and the founder of XPCC,

²⁴² From 1955 until 2005, the percentage of ethnically non-Han cadres in the total number of cadres in XUAR never surpassed 50% (Zhu & Wang, 2015).

Wang Zhen²⁴³. Wang portrayed ethnic Han elites of XUAR as “stabilizing forces of Xinjiang” to Deng Xiaoping, who endorsed such portrayals and discouraged previous attempts to significantly “indigenize” XUAR government (Bovingdon 2010, 62-65; Hari, 8-15). The emphasis upon ethnic Han elites’ control of XUAR government has become an informal norm ever since and was further reinforced during Wang Lequan’s tenure²⁴⁴ as the CCP secretary of XUAR. Even at the prefecture or county levels, the CCP secretaries who wields the most decision-making power are usually ethnic Han, placed above the executive heads who are usually of the titular ethnic category of the localities. Interestingly, some ethnic Uyghur cadres were actually calling on ethnic Han cadres to stay in Xinjiang, citing the know-how of ethnic Han cadres as vital to the governance and development of XUAR. One of such cadres was Abduwahit Ulatayev²⁴⁵, to whom the conception of the famous PRC slogan “ethnic Han cannot live without ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities cannot live without ethnic Han” is attributed²⁴⁶.

Perceptions of ethnic non-Han cadres as not sufficiently competent persist not only among ethnic Han elites but also are shared, to varying extent, among ethnic non-Han elites themselves. In Xinjiang, one cliché has been circulating and characterizing ethnically non-Han cadres in the ethno-regional party-state apparatuses as follows: those knowledgeable about state-sponsored ideologies more abundant than those knowledgeable about economic development, those knowledgeable about cultural heritages more abundant than those knowledgeable about science and technology, those well-

²⁴³ 1949-1952 as the secretary of the Xinjiang branch of CCP Central Committee.

²⁴⁴ 1995-2010.

²⁴⁵ Deputy political commissioner of the Southern Xinjiang Military District in the early 1980s.

²⁴⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, August 10 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

versed in administrative affairs more abundant than those with charisma/leadership skills, those conservative-minded more abundant than those innovative-minded²⁴⁷ (Ji 2013, 127). Most of my respondents shared the perception that qualification profiles, leadership skills, language skills (in particular reading comprehension in Mandarin Chinese), and social embeddedness of ethnic non-Han cadres in Xinjiang were “overall still to improve”²⁴⁸.

In terms of linguistic skills, of ethnic Uyghur cadres in Xinjiang, there tends to be a dearth of experts with advanced bilingual proficiency in both Uyghur and Mandarin Chinese. A dearth of sufficiently competent translators and interpreters has also been an issue for the ethno-regional state apparatuses. Candidates for such positions tended to feature either those with adequate Chinese-language proficiency but with inadequate Uyghur-language proficiency (usually *minkaohan*) or those with adequate Uyghur-language proficiency but with inadequate Chinese-language proficiency (usually *minkaomin*)²⁴⁹. Enlarging the population among ethnic Uyghurs with competent bilingual knowledge, though emphasized by almost all of the respondents, was also admitted as something that would “take time, patience, and generations”²⁵⁰. Some respondents pointed out explicitly that Uyghur elites’ improved communication skills in Mandarin Chinese would be conducive for Uyghur intellectuals both to receive information, to

²⁴⁷ Chinese: *zhengzhi xing ganbu duo, jingji xing ganbu shao, wenhua xing ganbu duo, keji xing ganbu shao, xingzheng xing ganbu duo, guanli xing ganbu shao, fengbi xing ganbu duo, kaifa xing ganbu shao*.

²⁴⁸ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 10, August 13 of 2016, March 30, March 31, April 4 of 2017.

²⁴⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, August 10 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

²⁵⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 10, August 13 of 2016, March 30, March 31, April 4 of 2017.

present themselves, and to converse with a much broader audience on a China-wide or even global platform²⁵¹.

Lack of trust between ethnic Uyghur and ethnic Han cadres was also noted among respondents²⁵². Although XUAR's budget mostly relies upon fiscal transfer arranged by the central state as well as upon various "projects to aid Xinjiang" (Chinese: *yuanjiang xiangmu*) that requires all provinces to provide developmental assistance to XUAR, central-state elites tend to refrain from devolving power to ethnic Uyghur cadres.

Decision-making power is monopolized by Han cadres. Ethnic cadres are mostly involved in implementing rather than formulating policies by using their linguistic and affective closeness to their co-ethnic masses²⁵³. Moreover, several respondents contend that Uyghur-Han popular-level relationships tend to be better than Uyghur-Han elite-level relationships²⁵⁴. Meanwhile, when the central government conduct policy consultations with ethnic Uyghur cadres, such elites tend to be more or less reluctant to provide suggestions and comments, even if more outspoken ethnic non-Han cadres may say something to their ethnic Han superior ranks²⁵⁵. In addition, ethnic Uyghur cadres are not necessarily well-received among ethnic Uyghur masses, while ethnic Han cadres are not necessarily disliked by ethnic Uyghur or ethnic Kazakh masses. For instance, at the township or village levels, some ethnic Han cadres can be more admired for their personality or charisma by predominantly ethnically non-Han villagers, whereas some

²⁵¹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 10 of 2016, March 30, March 31 of 2017.

²⁵² Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 10 of 2016, March 30, March 31, April 4 of 2017.

²⁵³ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, August 10 of 2016, March 30, March 31 of 2017.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

ethnic non-Han cadres can be perceived as “coward” towards superior ranks but “dictatorial” towards the masses²⁵⁶.

Relationships between ethnic Kazakh and ethnic Han cadres tend to be more collusive than those between ethnic Uyghur and ethnic Han cadres. Some ethnic Kazakh cadres perceive ethnic Han cadres to be “more capable, more knowledgeable, having access to more information or resources”²⁵⁷. In addition, ethnic Kazakh elites have been able to lobby central-state elites to formulate customized welfare policies for ethnic Kazakh rural population in Xinjiang, especially in terms of animal husbandry subsidies for herders, three-rural insurances²⁵⁸ (Chinese: *sannong baoxian*), settlement housings (Chinese: *anju fang*) for the pastoral population, etc.²⁵⁹

Beijing’s perception of Xinjiang and ethnic Uyghurs

Central-state’s perception of the titular population refers to the largely consistent patterns in the central state’s perception of both the elites and the masses of the titular ethnic category. In Xinjiang, low level of social integration of ethnic Uyghurs has been a necessary condition for higher risk of secession and less positive image of Xinjiang as perceived by the central-state in Beijing.

²⁵⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 10, August 13 of 2016, March 30, March 31, April 4 of 2017.

²⁵⁷ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on March 3, August 13 of 2016, April 4 of 2017.

²⁵⁸ Crop/livestock insurance, property insurance, life insurance.

²⁵⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on March 3, August 13 of 2016, April 4 of 2017.

PRC central-state's lack of trust in ethnic Uyghur cadres has largely persisted since the early 1980s, which are considered a period of potential power devolution proposed by more liberal-minded central-state elites such as Hu Yaobang and Deng Yingchao. Since the Barin incident in 1990²⁶⁰, the central-state's policy focus with regard to XUAR shifted from economic development to cracking down upon resistance framed in terms of "separatism". It has become a conventional practice that ethnic cadres are required to declare position/proclaim side²⁶¹. Ethnic Uyghur cadres become more likely to be viewed as not only "lacking Chinese-language skills" but also "not sufficiently loyal and reliable with fluctuating positions and preferences"²⁶². In the meantime, ethnic Uyghur populace become more likely to be viewed as not sufficiently competent in terms of participating in the labor market. Against this backdrop, Chinese-language proficiency among Uyghur elites is usually considered a "plus" or some "rare" quality.

Since the Ürümqi inter-ethnic clashes in 2009, discontent among both ethnically non-Han and Han cadres can be felt with regard to the growing inter-ethnic divide as well as the widening socio-economic inequalities not only between ethnic Uyghurs and ethnic Han but also between Xinjiang and the rest of China. In this regard, several respondents expressed their nostalgic feelings about the period under Mao Zedong, who they believe were admired for his charisma as well as for the more egalitarian-oriented socio-economic order established in XUAR before Deng Xiaoping's reforms²⁶³. By contrast,

²⁶⁰ Violent clashes between radicalized militants and state armed forces in Barin Township, Akto County, Kyzylsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture, XUAR.

²⁶¹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 10 of 2016, March 30, March 31, April 4 of 2017.

²⁶² Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 2, August 10, August 13 of 2016.

²⁶³ According to the respondents, under the centrally-planned system, pressure to compete in the market was largely absent. Salary level in Xinjiang for state-employed workers was among the highest in China.

after the Cultural Revolution, more emphasis upon absolute wealth accumulation than upon improving relative living conditions (Chinese: *gaishan minsheng*) is believed to have exacerbated socio-economic inequality in Xinjiang.

Informed by a team of researchers specializing in “borderland studies” or “ethnic studies”²⁶⁴, central-state elites in Beijing are well aware of ethnic Uyghurs’ lack of social integration into the mainstream polity, economy, and culture of China. Such lack of integration has been associated with perceived strong consciousness of being ethnically distinct from ethnic Han among ethnic Uyghurs and framed as one of the “major challenges”²⁶⁵ for the governing of XUAR. Concerns about such a challenge became more pressing than ever after the Ürümqi inter-ethnic clashes in 2009. In response, the “Xinjiang Work” Forum, held in 2010 and in 2014 successively in Beijing, covered issues of a variety of areas, in particular economic development, bilingual education, and ethnic cadre training²⁶⁶.

At the 2010 first “Xinjiang Work” Forum, emphasis was placed upon raising ethnic non-Han population’s affective identification with the “Chinese nation (Chinese: *zhonghua minzu*)” and the “Chinese culture (Chinese: *zhonghua wenhua*)”, upon strengthening the “bilingual education” in Xinjiang, as well as upon the “stabilizing” role of XPCC. At the

Universal poverty, controlled prices, state redistribution, favorable treatment of ethnic minority workers employed by either government or SOEs, etc. jointly rendered the income inequality between ethnic Uyghurs and ethnic Han in Xinjiang not conspicuous.

²⁶⁴ The most famous of such researchers include Ma Dazheng at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Ma Rong at Peking University.

²⁶⁵ Xinhuanet, “Xinjiang Work Forum was held, where Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao delivered important speeches,” [in Chinese] *Xinhuanet*, http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2010-05/20/c_12125041.htm (accessed 28 February 2017).

²⁶⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, August 10 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

2014 second “Xinjiang Work” Forum, such emphases have become more specific. In addition to fostering the common identity of being members of the “Chinese nation” (Chinese: *zhonghua minzu gongtongti yishi*), new objectives include “mutually embedded” (Chinese: *qianrushu*) inter-ethnic residential patterns to increase inter-ethnic interactions, inter-ethnic mutual understandings and mutual learnings, leadership skills of ethnic cadres, improved employment outcome among populations of ethnic minorities, as well as quality of education²⁶⁷. Notably, the official rhetoric of both the central state and XUAR government usually is careful enough not to single out “Uyghurs” as a category in official documents. Moreover, it is also more or less discouraged to frame social organizations or mass events as exclusively designated for “ethnic Uyghurs.”

Since Chen Quanguo’s appointment as the CCP secretary of XUAR in 2016, a wave of “sword-exhibiting” campaign (Chinese: *liangjian*) has been under way, in which ethnic minority cadres of different administrative levels in XUAR are required to pen articles calling on “people of all ethnicities” to champion and to contribute to “social stability, inter-ethnic unity, and integrity of motherland”²⁶⁸. Such articles would be posted on social media outlets such as WeChat, Sina Weibo, etc. and widely disseminated.

Certain articles authored by ethnic Uyghur cadres specifically appealed to the ethnic Uyghur population in Xinjiang. For instance, the article titled “Five questions for ethnic Uyghur youth” and authored by ethnic Uyghur cadres at the XUAR branch of the Communist Youth League of China was published in March 2017 as headline on both the

²⁶⁷ Xinhuanet Xinjiang Channel, “Xi Jinping delivered important speeches at the second Xinjiang Work Forum,” [in Chinese] *Xinhuanet Xinjiang Channel*, http://www.xj.xinhuanet.com/zt/2014-05/30/c_1110932196.htm (accessed 28 February 2017).

²⁶⁸ Chinese: *shehui wending, minzu tuanjie, zuguo tongyi*.

Chinese-language and Uyghur-language versions of *Xinjiang Daily*²⁶⁹. It explicitly used an inviting tone to reflect upon why the mainstream discourse in China tends to associate ethnic Uyghurs with “terrorism” or “religious radicalization.” It also calls on ethnic Uyghur youth to improve their knowledge of Mandarin Chinese, to enhance their educational attainment, as well as to expand their social networks beyond their own ethnic population. The article even explicitly refutes the claim usually made by exiled Uyghur dissenters that “Uyghur language and culture are being destroyed.” Overall, this article can be interpreted as representing a growing consensus between the top decision-making cadres of XUAR and certain ethnic Uyghur cadres about the necessity to counter interpellated, usually less-than-positive stereotypes of ethnic Uyghurs and to re-establish a more positive image for ethnic Uyghurs in the mainstream discourse of PRC.

Intra-Uyghur cleavage structure: Uyghur elites and Uyghur populace

The dimension of intra-ethnic cleavage structure entails the political, economic, and cultural divides between the elites and the masses of the titular ethnic group and addresses the questions as regard what dimensions of cleavages exist and how salient they can be. In Xinjiang, despite the highly thick and salient consciousness of “Uyghurness” among ethnic Uyghurs, greater tendency towards social self-segregation from ethnic Han has been contributing to lower level of intra-Uyghur cohesion and Uyghur elites’ diminished capacity to mobilize.

²⁶⁹ Sina News, “Headline on Xinjiang Daily: Five Questions for ethnic Uyghur youth,” [in Chinese], available at <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/nd/2017-04-28/doc-ifyetwsm0868482.shtml> (accessed July 31, 2017).

As summarized in Table 4.1., according to both the 2000 and the 2010 population censuses, the level of urbanization for ethnic Uyghurs China-wide rose from 19.4% as of 2000 to 22% as of 2010. In Xinjiang alone, level of urbanization for ethnic Uyghurs rose slightly from 19.21% as of 2000 to 21.97% as of 2010. The level of higher education for ethnic Uyghurs China-wide rose from 2.5% as of 2000 to 6.4% as of 2010. Of all married ethnic Uyghurs in China, the percentage of those with ethnically non-Uyghur spouses dropped from 1.05% as of 2000 to 0.53% in 2010, while the percentage of those with ethnic Han spouses dropped from 0.62% as of 2000 to 0.24% as of 2010. Considering that over 99% of ethnic Uyghurs were concentrated in XUAR according to both censuses, exogamy among ethnic Uyghurs both China-wide and in Xinjiang alone has been extremely rare.

Simultaneously, the level of urbanization for ethnic Han China-wide reached 51.9% in 2010, more than double the level of urbanization for ethnic Uyghurs China-wide, while level of urbanization for ethnic Han in Xinjiang rose significantly from 53.6% as of 2000 to 70.3% as of 2010, more than three times the level of urbanization for ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang²⁷⁰. In this sense, ethnic Uyghurs' level of urbanization both China-wide and in Xinjiang lags tremendously behind that of ethnic Han. The level of higher education for ethnic Han China-wide and in Xinjiang alone reached 9.7% and 18% respectively as of 2010, almost three times the level²⁷¹ of higher education for ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang alone. In terms of distribution of occupational profiles within the ethnic

²⁷⁰ PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2000 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2003); PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013).

²⁷¹ Around 6% as of 2010.

population, of all salaried ethnic Han in Xinjiang, the percentage of those working as cadres for either party-state apparatuses or SOEs (4.48% as of 1990, 3.99% as of 2000, and 3.37% as of 2010, Li and Chang 2015, 29) remained significantly higher than the corresponding percentage among all salaried ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang (0.87% as of 1990, 0.83% as of 2000, and 0.45% as of 2010, 29). From 2000 through 2010, the percentage of ethnic Uyghurs employed in manufacturing and services sectors dropped from 19.39% to 17.14% (28), whereas the percentage of ethnic Han employed in those sectors rose from 62.68% to 67.28% (28).

Overall, throughout the 2000s, the socio-economic stratification pattern of ethnic Uyghurs and ethnic Han both China-wide and in Xinjiang carried on the trend of becoming more and more differentiated. In Xinjiang alone, by the end of the 2000s, merely less than 10% of ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang tended to bear similarly elevated socio-economic profiles²⁷² not only to their co-ethnics but also to ethnic Han (close to 20%). In this sense, Uyghur-Han ethnically-based cleavage tends to almost but not completely overlap with socio-economically-based cleavages in Xinjiang. Meanwhile, ethnic consciousness among ethnic Uyghurs remains thick and salient enough to guard against massive identity shifts into the central state's majority. High but not total social self-integration translates into internally highly differentiated, highly polarized socio-economic/cultural cleavage structure among ethnic Uyghurs. This leads to restrained economic, social, and cultural capitals²⁷³ (Bourdieu 2004, 168-181) among the majority

²⁷² Here, level of higher education is used as a proxy for socio-economic attainments.

²⁷³ Pierre Bourdieu defines "social capital" as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 2004, 174). Meanwhile, "cultural capital", according to Bourdieu, can take three forms, i.e. embodied state, or long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body;

of ethnic Uyghurs, especially those in rural areas. It also leads to muted possibility of upward social mobility encouraging ethnic Uyghurs from lower social strata to identify with or to become themselves elites, which in turn strains elite-mass relations and hampers intra-Uyghur cohesion and the mobilizing capacity of the socially and culturally more integrated ethnic Uyghur elites.

Urban-rural cleavage remains the most acute and durable intra-Uyghur socio-economic cleavage in Xinjiang, as close to 80% of Uyghurs still reside in rural areas as of 2010. While urban-based political, economic, and cultural elites may interact with ethnic Han on a daily basis, rural population tend to have limited to zero knowledge of Mandarin Chinese and to be more susceptible to the ideas of vernacular ideologues²⁷⁴. The type of ethnic Han with whom rural Uyghurs may most often interact are the so-called “cadres stationed in the villages” (Chinese: *zhucun ganbu*). As rural Uyghurs bear highly differentiated education and socio-economic profiles from their urban-based elite co-ethnics who tend to have higher degrees of formal education, such elites are sometimes perceived as “culturally overly Sinicized”, “sycophant of their Han superiors” by those more ethno-nationally-minded or as “figureheads with little real power”, or corrupt, “indifferent to the needs of those in the rural areas” by the more populist-minded²⁷⁵. Urban-based elites also tend to be viewed as more adept at “bragging about their merits or achievements” than “fulfilling duties”²⁷⁶. Accordingly, the prestige afforded to ethnic

objectified state, such as cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.); institutionalized state, most conspicuously realized through educational qualifications (169).

²⁷⁴ Such as imams, mullahs, etc.

²⁷⁵ Such perceived characteristics were summarized out of the accounts of respondents of various ethnicities in Xinjiang during the author’s field trips to Xinjiang in 2016.

²⁷⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, August 10 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

Uyghur cadres among Uyghur populace tends to be low, which is exacerbated by a lack of emotional, affective ties²⁷⁷. Moreover, ethnic Uyghur cadres, including state-recognized clerics, at times became the targets of violent assassination attempts by ideologically radicalized youths (Bovingdon 2010, 178-190). The XUAR ethno-regional state was concerned about party-state cadres being increasingly dissociated culturally and socially with the masses, and to improve the cadre-masses relationships, the XUAR ethno-regional state launched, during Zhang Chunxian's tenure as the CCP XUAR secretary²⁷⁸, the campaigns of "dispatching cadres to the grass-roots level administrative units." The campaign provided urban-based Uyghur cadres an opportunity to "better understand the condition of their rural-based co-ethnics."²⁷⁹

On the other hand, another group of respondents noted the "traditionally"²⁸⁰ more casual, less hierarchical relationships between cadres and masses. Masses are allowed to publicly mock cadres, for instance, at social gatherings such as Məshrəp. That said, these respondents also noted that certain cadres, regardless of ethnicity, would "distort or ignore certain promulgated rules"²⁸¹. Starting 2014, road checkpoints have been established on the borders between townships, villages, counties, prefectures, etc. throughout Xinjiang. Usually ethnic Uyghur police agents would be outside the checkpoints conducting security checks, while ethnic Han special police agents would

²⁷⁷ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 10, August 13 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

²⁷⁸ 2010-2016.

²⁷⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, August 10 of 2016, March 30 and April 4 of 2017.

²⁸⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi, Beijing, Ghulja, and Kashgar on July 28, August 5, August 12 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

work inside the office processing information. Respondents also noted that certain ethnic Uyghur *Xiejing*²⁸² were recruited from youths whose communal reputation tends to be problematic. Some Uyghur police agents even took advantage of their authority to “confiscate” cellphones from individuals, giving rise to resentment among those undergoing security checks²⁸³. Both ethnic Uyghur and Han cadres can be found involved in the “greenhouse projects”²⁸⁴ introduced as “one-size-fits-all” poverty-reduction package in rural areas of Xinjiang. Some of such projects turned out to be consolidation of lands, with little skill-training, new products, new-market-developing elements integrated in them²⁸⁵.

Even urban-based ethnic Uyghurs can also be divided according to their places of origin (or “oasis identity”, Rudelson 1997), relations to the state authority, understandings of their identity, educational and occupational profiles, etc. In this sense, neither can urban-based Uyghurs nor can ethnic Uyghur cadres be treated as a coherent, homogeneous whole sharing uniform preferences. Such intra-ethnic regional and cultural differences framed in terms of geography, climate, historical trajectory, dialects, etc. tend to erode intra-Uyghur elite-level cohesion²⁸⁶.

²⁸² “Assistant police agent” in Chinese.

²⁸³ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi, Beijing, Ghulja, and Kashgar on July 28, August 5, August 12 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

²⁸⁴ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi, Beijing, and Kashgar on August 5, August 12 of 2016, March 31 of 2017.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, August 10 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

Compared to ethnic Uyghurs, among ethnic Kazakhs in Xinjiang, an ethnically-specific way of cadre-masses interactions, Aytis²⁸⁷, has been in practice. Aytis as a type of holiday gathering can offer an opportunity for ordinary Kazakhs to criticize publicly ethnic Kazakh cadres or to raise their issues with them. Aytis also provides an occasion to test the knowledge and problem-solving skills of ethnic Kazakh cadres, in which cadres draw lots to answer questions posed by the audience. In contrast with cadres in Southern Xinjiang who tend to be more corrupt and less admired by the populace, ethnic Kazakh cadres tend to enjoy a more positive reputation among ethnic Kazakh masses²⁸⁸.

Ethnically-based collective actions were not rare in Xinjiang, but rarely did ethnic Uyghur cadres initiate or even participate in such activities²⁸⁹. Notably, such collective incidents often feature young college students, some of whom view ethnic Uyghur cadres as merely agents helping the party-state control ethnic Uyghur populace²⁹⁰. Ethnic Uyghur cadres who explicitly call on²⁹¹ co-ethnics to improve their knowledge and skills of Mandarin Chinese and to participate more competently in the mainstream economy and culture of PRC would risk their reputation among the populace²⁹². As a corollary, it

²⁸⁷ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on March 3, August 13 of 2016, April 4 of 2017. County-level Aytis are held once a year, prefectural-level Aytis are held every other year, Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture-level Aytis are held every three years, XUAR-level Aytis are held every four years. Also organized in Aytis are quiz shows, exhibitions of handicrafts and yurts, horseraces, wrestling, etc.

²⁸⁸ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on March 3, August 13 of 2016, April 4 of 2017.

²⁸⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 10, August 13 of 2016, March 30 of 2017.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Nur Bekri, "It is a matter of course for citizens of PRC to learn Mandarin Chinese," [in Chinese] *Huanqiu*, <http://china.huanqiu.com/roll/2010-03/736730.html> (accessed July 31, 2017).

²⁹² During the author's fieldwork 2015-2017, roughly three major types of attitudes towards the learning of Mandarin Chinese could be summarized among ethnic Uyghurs in China: 1) Learning of Chinese is necessary, but should not be made mandatory but rather conducted on voluntary basis; 2) Learning of Chinese means "assimilation" and destruction of "Uyghur language and culture; to stay "Uyghur", one should choose not to learn Chinese; 3) Learning of Chinese not only is necessary but also should be made mandatory.

might not be overly exaggerating to contend that in Xinjiang, social capital across different social strata within the ethnic Uyghur population has been relatively low.

Representation of Uyghur elites in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

Ethnic Uyghur elites' less collusive, more hierarchically-oriented relations with ethnic Han elites, central state's consistently less-than-positive perceptions of both ethnic Uyghur elites and masses, and intra-Uyghur political, economic, and cultural cleavages have been jointly sufficient for underrepresentation of ethnic Uyghurs in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the XUAR.

In Xinjiang, although the percentage of ethnic non-Han cadres in the total number of cadres rose from approximately 42% in 1955 to around 52% in 2005²⁹³, the underrepresentation of ethnic Uyghur elites in the party-state apparatuses has remained a sensitive topic. Within the XUAR cadre system, it has become an informal practice to discourage discussion of this issue, and official data of cadre numbers are supposed to be listed only in two categories, Han versus minority (Chinese: *shaoshuminzu ganbu*) and not to be tabulated along ethnic lines²⁹⁴. Notably, by 2004, 66% of female party-state cadres in Xinjiang were ethnically non-Han. In this sense, within the female population of Xinjiang, non-Han elites were indeed becoming overrepresented (Ji 2013, 98). By 2008, the number of ethnically non-Han cadres reached 363,169, or 51.25% of all cadres in XUAR (127). In certain prefectures such as Tacheng of IKAP, non-Han cadres were

²⁹³ Calculated according to Zhu and Wang (2015, 161-165).

²⁹⁴ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015 and August 9 of 2016.

overrepresented. Starting the late 1990s and the early 2000s, the number of ethnic Uyghur members of the standing committee usually is four, while ethnic Han members have been consistently controlling the positions of the most decision-making power, such as the heads of the organization department, propaganda department, and the political-legal-affairs committee. As of December 2016, in the XUAR state apparatus with the most decision-making power, CCP XUAR standing committee, just four of all the 14 incumbent members were ethnic Uyghurs. The remaining were eight ethnic Han (including the most powerful position of CCP XUAR secretary), one ethnic Kazakh, and one ethnic Dongxiang.

Ethnic Uyghur cadres are recruited and evaluated according to their political reliability, Chinese-language skills and leadership skills of multi-ethnic staff. Party-state cadres, regardless of ethnicity, are expected to dissociate themselves from any religious practices. An internally-fixed quota for proportional representation of major ethnic groups in XUAR is used in the events of electing representatives to the XUAR People's Congress as well as in filling the top positions in ethno-regional party-state apparatuses, despite that relative population weights of different ethnic populations in XUAR are changing. These quotas are mostly produced by the personnel department (Chinese: *renshi bumen*) of CCP XUAR committee and the XUAR government²⁹⁵. For instance, quotas are set for ethnic Kazakh cadres in governmental apparatuses. For those reserved positions, only ethnic Kazakh cadres can fill them. Positions have been allocated to different ethnic categories according to the fixed quota. Therefore, ethnic Kazakh cadres do not compete with ethnic Uyghur cadres, but rather compete with fellow Kazakh cadres

²⁹⁵ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015 and August 9 of 2016.

to fill positions. Specifically, the CCP secretary of IKAP is usually ethnic Han, while the executive head of IKAP (Chinese: *yilizhou zhouzhang*) needs to be ethnic Kazakh. The mayor of Ghulja/Yining, the capital of IKAP, and the head of Ghulja/Yining County of IKAP are usually ethnic Uyghur. Although it is usually believed to be a rule for party secretaries to be ethnic Han, two exceptions have been made in the 2010s: Erkinjan Tulaghun²⁹⁶ worked between 2015 and 2017 as the Party secretary of Tacheng Prefecture, and Shalghat Akan²⁹⁷ was appointed in 2017 as the Party secretary of Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture²⁹⁸.

To assess ethnic Uyghur elites' level of representation in the XUAR ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions, I calculate and weight the quotients of the 2015 percentages of ethnic Uyghur elites in the key posts of various ethno-regional party-state apparatuses divided by the 2014 percentage of the population of ethnic Uyghurs in the total population of XUAR²⁹⁹. Specifically, I propose and apply an instrument, taking into account the distribution of decision-making power across different party-state apparatuses. I base my understanding of how decision-making power is distributed across party-state apparatuses on what is stipulated in the PRC Constitution, the LERA, and respondents' perceptions.

The largest weight, at 50%, is assigned to the key posts in the CCP XUAR committee, including the secretary, vice-secretary, and heads of key departments (i.e. committee of political and legal affairs, department of organization, department of propaganda,

²⁹⁶ Ethnic Uyghur.

²⁹⁷ Ethnic Kazakh.

²⁹⁸ Anonymous interview conducted in Beijing on April 4, 2017.

²⁹⁹ 49%, Statistical Bureau of the XUAR, *2015 Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook*.

committee of disciplines, and department of united front). The secretary of the CCP XUAR committee wields the most decision-making power³⁰⁰ in terms of creating and directing XUAR's executive organs, legislative organs, and judiciary. Such decision-making power derives mostly from the centralized authority in terms of personnel appointments, dismissals, and transfers. Within the CCP XUAR committee, the secretary of the Committee of Political and Legal affairs oversees the coercive organs of the XUAR state in terms of personnel, policy formulation and implementation. The secretary of the Committee of Disciplines monitors the conduct of lower-level CCP committees and their members. The head of the Department of Organization oversees the specific procedures of cadre appointments, dismissals, and transfers in largely all of the party-state apparatuses of XUAR. The head of the Department of Propaganda oversees knowledge/information production and reproduction not only by the ethno-regional party-state organs but also under XUAR's jurisdiction. The head of the Department of United Front mostly oversees both the outreach to and inclusion in the ethno-regional state organs of non-CCP-member political, economic, and cultural elites.

The second largest weight, at 20%, is assigned to the key posts in the executive organ, including the leadership of the XUAR People's Government. This amount of weight is assigned in light of the authority in terms of policy implementations and law enforcements wielded by the ethno-regional executive organs despite their lack of decision-making power in terms of policy formulations and personnel. According to the PRC Constitution, the ethno-regional state has the authority to conduct administrative and

³⁰⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7 of 2015, March 2, August 9, August 10 of 2016, March 30, March 31, April 4 of 2017.

developmental work spanning the economy, education, science, culture, public health, physical culture, urban and rural development, finance, civil affairs, public security, ethnic affairs, family planning, etc. and can issue decisions and orders (CPRC 2004, Article 107). Specifically, the chairperson of XUAR People's Government mostly plays the role of a coordinator of the ethno-regional executive organs, while the head of the Department of Public Security oversees the coercive organs, especially the police forces of XUAR. The head of the Department of Development and Reform wields considerable decision-making power in the realm of macro-economic development, for instance, in terms of economic planning, market regulation, price regulation, adjusting sectoral structures, shaping the flow of capital and labor, etc.³⁰¹ The Department of Development and Reform is the XUAR ethno-regional branch of the PRC National Development and Reform Commission.

A 15% weight is assigned to the leadership of XPCC. XPCC is a combination of paramilitary administrative unit and SOEs but nominally also a part of the XUAR. However, in terms of jurisdiction, XPCC is *de facto* "autonomous" of XUAR, governing enclaves of land and population throughout XUAR. XPCC has 14 divisions based in all of the prefectural-level administrative units of XUAR. Engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, construction, as well as service industries, XPCC functions as enterprises and contributes to the revenue of both the central state and the XUAR ethno-regional state. As of 2014, 12% of XUAR population are affiliated to XPCC, while 4.24% of the land mass of XUAR is under the jurisdiction of XPCC. Ethnic minority populations (e.g.

³⁰¹ "Main functions of the National Development and Reform Commission," [in Chinese], available at <http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/mfndrc> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Hui, Mongols, Xibe, etc.) make up 13.9% of the total population of XPCC, while the majority of XPCC population are ethnically Han³⁰². The first political commissioner of XPCC is usually filled by the secretary of CCP XUAR committee.

A smaller weight of 10% is assigned to the key posts at the legislative organs. The major legislative organ, People's Congress, is nominally the supreme organ of the ethno-regional state's power, supervising primarily the implementation of PRC Constitution, national-level laws, as well as ethno-regional-level regulations (CPRC 2004, Article 99). The Standing Committee has the authority to enact ethno-regional-level autonomy regulations or separate regulations (CPRC 2004, Article 100). Procedurally, the ethno-regional People's Government needs to report to the ethno-regional People's Congress with regard to both its performance and budget. Meanwhile, People's Political Consultative Conference is an advisory organ intended for formally incorporating a broader spectrum of political, economic, and cultural elites into the legislative processes of PRC and having them represented at the state level. In practice, the conference is heavily orchestrated by the CCP Department of United Front. 5% of weight is assigned to the key posts of the People's Court and People's Procuratorate of XUAR, considering that their major roles are to apply laws in civil and criminal justice, to prosecute, and to investigate law enforcements with very limited decision-making power³⁰³.

³⁰² State Council Information Office of PRC, "The History and Development of the XPCC," [in Chinese], available at <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2014/Document/1382598/1382598.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017).

³⁰³ Anonymous interviews conducted in Ürümqi and Beijing on August 7, 2015 and August 9, 2016.

Table 4.4. Ethnic Uyghur elites' representation in the ethno-regional state of Xinjiang (2015)

	Number of those occupying the most powerful positions who are of the titular ethnic category (Uyghur)	Number of all those occupying the most powerful positions	Representation-by-Population quotient ^a	Weight assigned
CCP XUAR Committee	4 ^b	14	0.6	50%
Executive organs	5 ^c	11	0.9	20%
Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps	0	3	0	15%
Legislative and advisory organs	8 ^d	27	0.6	10%
Judiciary	2	2	2	5%

^a If the quotient is higher than 0 but no higher than 1, underrepresentation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is 1, proportional representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is higher than 1 but no higher than 2, overrepresentation of titular elites is implied (given that ethnic Uyghurs' percentage in the total population of Xinjiang was 49% as of 2014).

^b In addition to those who were ethnic Uyghur and Han, there were 1 ethnic Kazakh and 1 ethnic Dongxiang.

^c In addition to those who were ethnic Uyghur and Han, there were 1 ethnic Kazakh.

^d In addition to those who were ethnic Uyghur and Han, there were 4 ethnic Kazakhs, 2 ethnic Hui, 1 ethnic Kyrgyz, 1 ethnic Mongol (Oiratic).

Sources: People's Government of the XUAR. <http://www.xinjiang.gov.cn> (accessed July 31, 2017); *People's Daily*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://ldzl.people.com.cn/dfzlk/front/firstPage.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); *China Economy Net*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://district.ce.cn/zt/rwk/index.shtml> (accessed July 31, 2017); *Xinhuanet*: Personnel for Party and Governmental Apparatuses. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/rs.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); People's Congress of XUAR. <http://www.xjpcsc.gov.cn> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Table 4.5. Those occupying the most powerful positions at the ethno-regional state of the XUAR (2010-present)

	Position	Person occupying that position	Ethnicity	Tenure
Incumbent party apparatus	Secretary of the CCP XUAR Committee	Zhang Chunxian	Han	2010-2016
		Chen Quanguo	Han	2016-
	Vice-Secretary of the CCP XUAR Committee	Nur Bekri	Uyghur	2003-2014
		Shöhrät Zakir ^a	Uyghur	2014-
	Secretary of the CCP XUAR Committee of Political and Legal Affairs	Fu Qiang	Han	2009-2011
		Xiong Xuanguo	Han	2011-2016
		Zhu Hailun	Han	2016-
	Head of the CCP XUAR Department of Organization	Han Yong	Han	2004-2013
		Ma Xuejun	Dongxiang	2013-
	Head of the CCP XUAR Department of Propaganda	Hu Wei	Han	2010-2013
		Li Xuejun	Han	2013-2016
		Yan Guocan	Han	2016
		Tian Wen	Han	2016-
	Secretary of the CCP XUAR Committee of Disciplines	Fu Qiang	Han	2006-2011
		Song Airong	Han	2011-2015
		Xu Hairong	Han	2015-2017
		Luo Dongchuan	Han	2017-

Executive organ	Head of the CCP XUAR Department of United Front	Wang Wei	Han	2006-2013
		Cheng Zhenshan	Han	2013-2016
		Shəwkət İmin	Uyghur	2016-
	Chairperson of the XUAR People's Government	Nur Bekri	Uyghur	2007-2014
		Shöhrət Zakir	Uyghur	2014-
	Head of the XUAR Committee of Development and Reform	Liu Yanliang	Han	2003-2013
		Zhang Chunlin	Han	2013-
	Head of the XUAR Department of Public Security	Zhu Changjie	Han	2009-2017
		Wang Mingshan	Han	2017-
Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps	Secretary of the CCP XPCC Committee	Che Jun	Han	2010-2015
		Han Yong	Han	2015-2016
		Sun Jinlong	Han	2016-
	Vice-Secretary of the CCP XPCC Committee	Hua Shifei	Han	2006-2011
		Liu Xinqi	Han	2011-2017
		Peng Jiarui	Han	2017-
Legislative organs	Head of the Standing Committee of the XUAR People's Congress	Erkin İminbakay	Uyghur	2008-2015
		Nəim Yasin	Uyghur	2015-

	Chair of the XUAR People's Political Consultative Conference	Asgat Kərimbay Nurlan Abdulmajid	Kazakh Kazakh	2003-2013 2013-
Judiciary	Head of the XUAR People's Court	Rozi İsmail Nəim Yasin Mutalip Obul	Uyghur Uyghur Uyghur	2008-2012 2012-2015 2015-
	Head of the XUAR People's Procuratorate	Kasim Məxmut Nizam İbrahim	Uyghur Uyghur	2008-2012 2012-2018

^a Shöhrət Zakir grew up in Ürümqi. He is the son of Abdullah Zakirov, who was a member of the CCP XUAR standing committee and vice-chair of XUAR government during the 1950s and 1960s. Zakirov participated in the Latinization of Uyghur and Kazakh scripts in XUAR. The Latinized scripts were officially in use from the 1960s through 1982, when they were officially abolished.

Sources: People's Government of the XUAR. <http://www.xinjiang.gov.cn> (accessed July 31, 2017); *People's Daily*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://ldzl.people.com.cn/dfzlk/front/firstPage.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); *China Economy Net*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://district.ce.cn/zt/rwk/index.shtml> (accessed July 31, 2017); *Xinhuanet*: Personnel for Party and Governmental Apparatuses. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/rs.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); People's Congress of XUAR. <http://www.xjpcsc.gov.cn> (accessed July 31, 2017).

The weighted representation-by-population quotient for ethnic Uyghur elites in Xinjiang as of 2015 is 0.64, which is lower than 1 and signifies underrepresentation of ethnic Uyghur elites in the XUAR ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions. Overall, as summarized in Table 4.5., of the 38 individuals who once occupied or still occupy the most powerful positions of XUAR from 2010 to 2017, only nine are ethnic Uyghurs, thus making up barely a quarter and under-represented in relation to ethnic Uyghurs' population weight in the total population of XUAR for the corresponding time frame. Moreover, at the 19th National Congress of CCP held in 2017, only 21% (9 out of 43) delegates from XUAR were ethnic Uyghurs.

Nevertheless, mobility of ethnic Uyghur cadres from XUAR to the central-state or even other provincial-level units of China has become more visible in the 2010s. Most notable examples include Nur Bekri who became in 2014 head of PRC's National Energy Administration, Kūrəsh Məxsut who was appointed in 2014 as PRC's Vice-Minister of Land and Resources, and Erkin Tulaghun who became in 2017 a member of the CCP Standing Committee of Hubei Province and head of CCP Hubei Province Department of United Front.

SUMMARY: LOWER INTEGRATION, LOWER AUTONOMY

Proportionate titular control of the ethno-regional state is a defining attribute of ethnic territorially-based autonomy, a necessary condition for autonomy implementation, and a property unique to autonomy as implemented. In the case of Xinjiang, a lack of Uyghur-Han social integration coupled with thick Uyghur-Han cultural and psychological divide hampers, especially since the early 2000s, the building of ethnic Uyghur elites' bargaining capacity and of intra-Uyghur cohesion. As a result, ethnic Uyghur elites have been persistently underrepresented in the ethno-regional state organs and their most powerful positions, and proportionate titular control of the ethno-regional state is absent. Due to the lower-than-necessary level of titular representation in the ethno-regional state, XUAR's ability to implement prescribed autonomy has also been very limited, which has led to more subdued autonomy outcome for Xinjiang. Overall, as the experiences of autonomy-building in Xinjiang illustrates, absent a balance between inter-ethnic integration and inter-ethnic differentiation, inter-ethnic segregation can be detrimental, rather than conducive, to the building of titular elites' bargaining capacity and to the

long-term autonomy-building in terms of titular political participation, ethno-regional economic development, and titular cultural promotion in an ethno-region.

5. INTER-ETHNIC BOUNDARY-MAKINGS, TITULAR ELITES, AND AUTONOMY OUTCOME IN TATARSTAN

In December 2010, then-incumbent President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev signed into effect a law requiring those ethnic republics whose executive head had been designated as “President” to halt using that designation and to comply by January 1, 2015³⁰⁴. The “deadline” has long passed, but Tatarstan still retains the title “President” for its executive head and has been the only republic in Russia able to do that. In July 2013, the 27th Summer Universiade was held in Kazan, the capital of Tatarstan, and for the first time in Russia. In the summer of 2015, the 16th World Aquatics Championship was held in Kazan, also for the first time in Russia. In 2018, Kazan will participate in Russia’s hosting of the 21st FIFA World Cup. As styled by its municipal government, Kazan has indeed become the “sports capital of Russia” in the sense of hosting international sports events.

In December 2016, President of Tatarstan, Röstəm Mingnekhanov, openly criticized³⁰⁵ the federal government for fiscally “over-extracting” from its constituent entities like RT

³⁰⁴ “State Duma approved of the ban on naming head of republics ‘president’ within the Russian Federation.” [in Russian] *Newsru.com*, <http://www.newsru.com/russia/02nov2010/nomoreprez.html> (accessed July 31, 2017).

³⁰⁵ “Tatarstan not contented with Kremlin: Minnikhanov criticized the federal government for its ‘over-drawing’ from successful regions.” [in Russian] *Novaya Gazeta*, <https://www.novayagazeta.ru/articles/2016/12/29/71047-tatarstan-nedovolen-kremlen> (accessed July 31, 2017).

that are net contributors to the federal budget. Starting August 2017, federal government investigated the mandatory Tatar-language courses in RT's pre-tertiary education system, which triggered heated debates both in and outside Tatarstan. Defenders of the mandatory Tatar courses viewed them as a manifestation not only of the status of the Tatar language as one of the two state languages of RT but also of state-sponsored guarantee for the ontological security of the Tatar language, while their opponents pointed to the limited usefulness of the Tatar language in professional realms as well as its "interfering" effect with schoolchildren's learning of Russian. In November 2017, the RT ethno-regional state reached a provisional compromise³⁰⁶ with the federal government and curtailed the hours of mandatory Tatar-language courses to 2 hours a week from the first through the ninth grades. Tatar-language courses became elective for grades higher than the ninth. Moreover, the RT state requested that a federal standard be formulated for the teaching of both Russian and the titular language in ethnic republics. For the time being, the Tatar language remains mandatory for schoolchildren in Tatarstan until the tenth grade.

Despite federal government's repeated attempts to shore up its control over Tatarstan, RT remains the most autonomous ethnic republic in Russia in terms of both prescriptive institution and implemented outcome. Why is it the case? This chapter examines in details the most recent trends in Tatar-Russian inter-ethnic boundary-makings and ethnic Tatar elites' bargaining capacity in Tatarstan. Based upon both primary and secondary data, I first demonstrate how ethnic Tatars' high level of linguistic Russification³⁰⁷ tends

³⁰⁶ "Compromise: Tatar-language course as state language remains two hours per week." [in Tatar] *Azatliq Radiosi*, <https://www.azatliq.org/a/28841747.html> (accessed December 31, 2017).

³⁰⁷ In the sense of developing skills in the Russian language, not in the sense of "becoming ethnically Russian."

to promote Tatar elites' capacity to build cross-ethnic political networks and more collusive, less hierarchical types of relationships with ethnic Russian elites. Then I demonstrate how ethnic Tatars' more solid social integration tends not only to cultivate positive perceptions of ethnic Tatars by the RF central state but also to translate into less differentiated intra-ethnic socio-economic and cultural contour. Such a contour is conducive to upward social mobility encouraging ethnic Tatar populace to identify with or to become themselves elites, which in turn contributes to intra-Tatar cohesion and ethnic Tatar elites' mobilizing capacity. I conclude the chapter by arguing that ethnic Tatar elites' more solid relationships with both the central state and their "co-ethnics," coupled with a positive image of ethnic Tatars in the eyes of the central state, have been jointly sufficient for the overrepresentation of ethnic Tatar elites in the RT state organs and their most powerful positions.

TATAR-RUSSIAN INTER-ETHNIC BOUNDARY MAKINGS

Acculturation among ethnic Tatars and in Tatarstan

Acculturation connotes the processes of linguistic and cultural diffusions and changes resulting in greater linguistic and cultural similarity between populations of the titular ethnic category of the ethno-region and the central state's ethnic majority category. Since the most fundamental marker of cultural differences can be shared languages in which various "societal institutions" (Kymlicka 2001) are exercised, the level of acculturation is operationalized mostly in terms of actual and perceived levels of fluency in the central-state-defined *lingua franca* among the population of an ethno-region's titular ethnic category.

Competent knowledge of Russian did not become widespread among ethnic Tatars in TASSR until after World War II. For instance, according to the 1926 USSR census, only 33.4% of ethnic Tatars in TASSR³⁰⁸ were literate, and almost no ethnic Tatars in TASSR claimed Russian as their “native language” (Kondrashov 2000, 28-29). From the end of the World War II until the disintegration of the USSR, Tatar was largely considered a “low status” language often associated with the rural areas and “backwardness” (32). Adequate speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills in Russian was perceived as indispensable for upward social mobility for those who originally knew only Tatar, while use of Tatar in schools or in public sphere would be frowned upon and even chastised, as confirmed by several respondents who grew up during the Soviet periods³⁰⁹. Situated in such a socio-linguistic order, Tatar speakers tended “to forget their Tatar” (Faller 2006, 308) and not to transmit the language to their children, and even those who did speak Tatar to their children mostly did that only in intimate settings. As the sole language for the daily conduct of state apparatuses, Russian became hegemonic in TASSR not only in formal settings but also in the informal space (e.g. home) traditionally associated with the Tatar language, which many ethnic Tatars in Kazan themselves participated in perpetuating by actively switching to the Russian language for personal career advancement (Kondrashov 2000, 40; Faller 2006, 308). The use of Tatar was reduced to the extent that even the ethnic Ukrainian first secretary of TASSR who was in office during 1957-1960, Semyon Ignat’ev, came to perceive a “lack of respect” (Russian: *neuvazheniye k rodnomu yazyku*, Gallyamova 2015, 368-369) of the Tatar language in the

³⁰⁸ Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1920-1990).

³⁰⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 28, April 22, and May 17 of 2016.

republic and reported the underdevelopment of Tatar-language education system to the Central Committee of the CPSU in Moscow (368).

Such self-Russification can be associated with the Soviet practice of cadre indigenization (Gorenburg 2003, 46-48; Giuliano 2006b, 37-38) which placed an inherent emphasis upon knowledge and use of the Russian language (Giuliano 2000, 304). According to the micro-census conducted in 1994 immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, of ethnic Tatars in Russia, 11.4% claimed to know only Russian, 2.7% of them claimed Russian as their “native language” with Tatar as their second language, 75.9% claimed Tatar as their “native language” with Russian as their second language, 9.6% claimed to know only Tatar (Gorenburg 2006a, 288-291). Assuming that the micro-census data are reliable, then, in 1994, there were, by a small margin, more ethnic Tatars in Russia who knew Russian than those who knew Tatar.

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the use of Tatar in Tatarstan has been expanding into more domains than merely the intimate spheres (Faller 2006, 316), as the RT state authority has been striving to promote formal use of Tatar and as the ethno-national consciousness among Tatars has been rising. However, the overall terrain of language use remains characteristically asymmetric and Russian-dominated among ethnic Tatars both Russia-wide and in Tatarstan alone, as almost everybody knows and uses Russian, but only some of them know and use Tatar. Notably, the percentage of those who knew Tatar demonstrated a similar trend of declining throughout the 2000s among ethnic Tatars and Russians alike at both the national and ethno-regional levels, while the percentage of those who knew Russian followed an opposite trend of rising for these two ethnic populations.

As summarized in Table 5.1., of all ethnic Tatars in Russia who indicated their command of languages, the percentage of those who knew Tatar dropped from 80.8% in 2002 to 69% in 2010, while the percentage of those who knew Russian rose from 96.1% in 2002 to 97.8% in 2010. Of all ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan who indicated their command of languages, the percentage of those who knew Tatar dropped from 94.2% in 2002 to 92.7% in 2010, while the percentage of those who knew Russian rose from 92.9% in 2002 to 95.8% in 2010. If the census data are adequately reliable, it can be observed that if by 2002, more ethnic Tatars knew Tatar than they knew Russian in Tatarstan, then by 2010, more ethnic Tatars knew Russian than they knew Tatar in Tatarstan. Similarly, of all ethnic Tatars in Bashkortostan³¹⁰ who indicated their command of languages, the percentage of those who knew Tatar dropped from 86.8% in 2002 to 67% in 2010, while the percentage of those who knew Russian rose from 96.4% in 2002 to 98.7% in 2010. Meanwhile, for the same time frame, the originally low level of knowledge of Tatar among ethnic Russians became even lower: of all ethnic Russians in the Russian Federation who indicated their command of languages, the percentage of those who knew Tatar dropped slightly from 0.12% in 2002 to 0.1% in 2010. Of all ethnic Russians in Tatarstan who indicated their command of languages, the percentage of those who knew Tatar dropped from 4.3% in 2002 to 3.6% in 2010. Combining all ethnic populations, of all residents of Tatarstan who indicated their command of languages, the percentage of those who knew Tatar dropped from 53.3% in 2002 to 52.1% in 2010, while the percentage of those who knew Russian rose from 95.6% in 2002 to 97.6% in 2010. Of all residents of Bashkortostan, regardless of ethnicity, who indicated their command of

³¹⁰ Republic of Bashkortostan is home to the second largest ethnic Tatar population of all constituent entities of the Russian Federation, only after Tatarstan.

languages, the percentage of those who knew Tatar dropped from 34% in 2002 to 26.7% in 2010, while the percentage of those who knew Russian rose from 96.4% in 2002 to 98.7% in 2010.

Table 5.1. Knowledge of Tatar and Russian among different populations

	2002	2010
% of ethnic Tatars claiming to know Tatar (Russia)	80.8	69 ↓
% of ethnic Russians claiming to know Tatar (Russia)	0.12	0.1 ↓
% of ethnic Tatars claiming to know Tatar (Tatarstan)	94.2	92.7 ↓
% of ethnic Russians claiming to know Tatar (Tatarstan)	4.3	3.6 ↓
% of the total population of Tatarstan claiming to know Tatar	53.3	52.1 ↓
% of ethnic Tatars claiming to know Tatar (Bashkortostan)	86.8	67 ↓
% of the total population of Bashkortostan claiming to know Tatar	34	26.7 ↓
% of ethnic Tatars claiming to know Russian (Russia)	96.1	97.8 ↑

% of ethnic Tatars claiming to know Russian (Tatarstan)	92.9	95.8 ↑
% of ethnic Russians claiming to know Russian (Tatarstan)	99.3	99.9 ↑
% of the total population of Tatarstan claiming to know Russian	95.6	97.6 ↑
% of ethnic Tatars claiming to know Russian (Bashkortostan)	96.4	98.7 ↑
% of the total population of Bashkortostan claiming to know Russian	96.4	98.7 ↑

Sources: Calculated from the following census publications, *All Russia Population Census 2002*. <http://www.perepis2002.ru/index.html?id=28> (accessed July 31, 2017); *All Russia Population Census 2010*. <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017).

For decades, ethnic Tatars in the urban areas of Tatarstan have established socio-linguistic patterns of adopting or switching to Russian, especially among younger generations. Even if some Tatars demand more broadened use of Tatar in government and in public sphere, most of them have long been an integral part of the Russian-dominated linguistic milieu and thus are able to cope with the still-limited use of Tatar in those spheres. In other words, a common tendency among ethnic Tatars both in and outside of Tatarstan in Russia is to emphasize the necessity of Russian proficiency and to become as fluent in Russian as ethnic Russians. That said, what distinguishes some ethnic Tatars from others is their attitude towards the Tatar language: those with strong ethnic

consciousness tend to stress equal fluency in both Tatar and Russian, while others tend to see little utility in knowing Tatar and thus are uninterested in learning Tatar. The tendency among ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan to grow even more fluent in Russian than in Tatar can also be confirmed with respondents' perceptions.

In urban areas of Tatarstan, the Tatar language tends to be used more “in private settings than in workplaces”³¹¹. Most of urban-based Tatars are able to speak Russian as “native speakers without accent”³¹². Meanwhile, they are also considered “heirs of indigenous cultural heritages”³¹³. Nevertheless, ethnic Tatar children tend to develop capacity to understand Tatar only if their parents constantly speak the language in their presence. Meanwhile, Russian remains dominant due to the highly entrenched, historically-determined linguistic landscapes³¹⁴ and functions as the professional language. Russian tends to be the first choice for means of communication, especially for those who are themselves of cross-ethnic categories³¹⁵ and married to somebody also of cross-ethnic categories. Overall, some respondents tend to view the RT state's efforts at reviving the Tatar language as not so successful³¹⁶, while other respondents admit that knowledge of Tatar is not necessary for daily survival in urban areas in Tatarstan³¹⁷.

³¹¹ Russian: *bol'she v lichnoi zhizni chem na rabote*. Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

³¹² Russian: *bez aktsenta*. Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, and May 17, 2016.

³¹³ Russian: *nositeli rodnoi kul'tury*. Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, April 27, and May 17, 2016.

³¹⁴ Russian: *sreda*. Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

³¹⁵ Being of cross-ethnic ancestry does not necessarily translate into knowing only Russian. In fact, the author encountered on several occasions cross-ethnic individuals able to use Tatar.

³¹⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan and Yar Challi on March 30, April 15, May 17, June 11, and June 15, 2016.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

In rural areas of Tatarstan, Russian tends to be more commonly used among younger generations of ethnic Tatars, whereas Tatar tends to be more featured among older generations of ethnic Tatars³¹⁸. In villages, contingent upon the local linguistic landscape and the type of profession, sometimes knowledge of Tatar can be necessary for professionals³¹⁹. However, the percentage of rural-based ethnic Russians who know Tatar, as put by a respondent at 2%³²⁰, is even lower than the percentage³²¹ of those who knew Tatar in the total population of ethnic Russians in Tatarstan as of the 2010 population census.

Urban and rural areas combined, those who know Tatar in Tatarstan tend to be also bilingual in Russian and able to process their thinking in both Russian and Tatar, while approximately 50% of the Tatarstani population uses only Russian in their daily life. Code-switching between Tatar and Russian according to “mood”³²² is widespread among those who are bilingual. Some respondents estimated that, among ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan, around one fifth³²³ have no functional knowledge of Tatar, which is significantly higher than the figure, 7.3%, as of the 2010 population census. If ethnic Tatar cultural elites tend to be more vocally advocating for the knowledge of Tatar to be developed on a par with the knowledge of Russian, ethnic Tatar working class may tend to be more inclined to accept the Russian language at the expense of Tatar³²⁴. Meanwhile,

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Anonymous interview conducted on April 15, 2016.

³²¹ 3.6% according to the 2010 census.

³²² Russian: *nastroeniye*. Anonymous interviews conducted on April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

³²³ Anonymous interviews conducted on April 15 and May 17, 2016.

³²⁴ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan and Yar Challı on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, June 11, and June 15, 2016.

ethnic Russians in Tatarstan rarely know the Tatar language. Even if they know, usually they do it at the “conversational level”³²⁵. Since Russian is hegemonic in the realm of broadcast media, children whose original language is Tatar tend to develop listening comprehension evenly in Russian and Tatar³²⁶. Considering that knowledge of Russian is universal in Tatarstan while knowledge of Tatar is applicable merely to about half of the population, Tatar is rarely used in court sessions, where Russian dominates to avoid the costs of interpreting or translating³²⁷.

Concomitantly, Russian has somehow become an attribute of the Tatar ethnic identity, since the dissemination among ethnic Tatars of knowledge associated with other candidate attributes of the Tatar ethnicity (e.g. historiography, religion, folklores, cuisine, costumes, festivities) usually relies upon the Russian language in conjunction with Tatar. For instance, as the author pays visits to mosques at various locations in Tatarstan, Russian seemed to be the dominant language used among those who attended prayers. In several folkloric concerts³²⁸ either featuring or intended for ethnic Tatar children in Kazan, the coordinator spoke almost exclusively in Russian while the performances were conducted in Tatar.

Tatarstan boasts of diverse, heterogeneous religious contours. Although Islam is usually considered the predominant religious identity associated with ethnic Tatars, boundaries of religious identities do not exactly overlap with boundaries of ethnic identities, much less

³²⁵ Russian: *razgovornoe znaniye*. Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, and May 17, 2016.

³²⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on May 17, 2016.

³²⁷ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, and May 17, 2016.

³²⁸ One of such concerts took place in the Palace of Culture *Yunost'* located in Aviaostroitel'nyi District of Kazan.

with boundaries of linguistic identities. Among ethnic Tatars, there are also those who do not identify themselves as Muslims, those who do not associate themselves with any religion (e.g. atheists), those who claim to follow Tengriism³²⁹ (Tatar: *Təngrechelek*), those who claim to practice orthodox Christianity (Tatar: *Kerəshennər*³³⁰). In urban areas of Tatarstan, Muslims are not necessarily ethnic Tatars but also include those of other ethnicities (e.g. ethnic Uzbeks, ethnic Tajiks, ethnic Azerbaijanis, ethnic Bashkirs, and even ethnic Russians). The religious identity conventionally associated with ethnic Russians, ethnic Chuvash, ethnic Udmurts, and ethnic Mari in Tatarstan is either orthodox Christianity or autochthonous spiritual practices³³¹, even though those who do not associate themselves with any religion or those do not practice also abound³³².

In sum, despite the slightly higher percentage of ethnic Tatars in the total population of RT than that of ethnic Uyghurs in the total population of XUAR, ethnic Tatars are linguistically tremendously more Russified than are ethnic Uyghurs Sinicized. In Tatarstan, more ethnic Tatars know and use fluently Russian than those who know and use fluently Tatar, whereas the majority of ethnic Tatars claim to be bilingual.

³²⁹ An umbrella term for autochthonous spiritual practices among mostly Turkic and Mongolic-speaking populations of inland Eurasia. Such spiritual practices tend to attribute “eternal” consciousness to the “blue sky.”

³³⁰ Some of the Kerəshens do not consider themselves ethnic Tatars but constituting a separate ethnic group.

³³¹ Resembling Tengriism.

³³² Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, and May 17, 2016.

Social integration among ethnic Tatars and in Tatarstan

Social integration is associated with aggregating the processes of interpersonal, socioeconomic, and spatial interactions relevant to the economy, the polity, and the community among the populations of both an ethno-region's titular ethnic category and the central state's ethnic majority category. The degree of such social integration of an ethnic group can be assessed according to such demographic indicators as levels of urbanization, educational attainments, intermarriage rates with the majority ethnic group, as well as residential patterns.

According to the 2010 All-Russia population census, the overall level of urbanization³³³ reached 73.7%³³⁴, whereas the overall level of higher education³³⁵ reached 28%³³⁶. The overall level of illiteracy in Russia was 0.32%³³⁷, while the rate of inter-ethnic marriages³³⁸ reached 12%. Of the total population of those ethnic minority categories for whom territorially-based autonomous entities have been designated, 65.3% were residents in those autonomous entities, with the rest living outside their designated ethno-regions.

To evaluate the country-wide level of social integration for the titular population of an ethno-region in Russia, I propose the following instrument. It scores a population's level of integration on each of the following five dimensions, urbanization, higher education,

³³³ Percentage of urban-based population in the total population of RF

³³⁴ 76.8% among ethnic Russians, 56.5% among ethnic non-Russians.

³³⁵ Percentage of those who have received tertiary education in the total population of those age fifteen and older.

³³⁶ 28.9% among ethnic Russians, 29% among ethnic Russians in RT, 24% among ethnic non-Russians.

³³⁷ 0.23% among ethnic Russians, 0.65% among ethnic non-Russians.

³³⁸ Percentage of those married outside their own ethnic categories in the total population of those married of RF.

illiteracy rate, cross-ethnic marriage rate, and residential concentration within designated ethno-regions. The score of each dimension is assigned a weight of 1/5, generating an aggregate score up to 100%. The higher the score for a population, the greater the level of social integration for a titular ethnic population. For an ethno-region in Russia, the formula with which to calculate the country-wide level of social integration for its titular ethnic population, SI_2 , is proposed as

$$SI_2 = (Du_2 \times 1/5 + De_2 \times 1/5 + Di_2 \times 1/5 + Dm_2 \times 1/5 + Dr_2 \times 1/5) \times 100\%$$

For a titular ethnic population in Russia, the five dimensions are assessed on an ordinal scale of three categories. Accordingly, a population's score on these dimensions will take one of three mutually discrete values:

An ethnic population's level of urbanization is assessed in relation to the national average level of urbanization of Russia according to the 2010 All-Russia census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of urbanization divided by the national average level of urbanization. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_u = u_2 / 73.7\%$. The range of LQ_u is (0, 1.36]. When a population is 100% urbanized in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 1.36. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of urbanization significantly lower than national average), then the score, Du_2 , will be 0.5. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.67³³⁹ but no higher than 1.25 (level of urbanization largely comparable to national average), then Du_2 will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the

³³⁹ When the level of urbanization for a population is approximately 50%.

population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of urbanization significantly higher than national average), then Du_2 will be 1.

An ethnic population's level of higher education is assessed in relation to the national average level of higher education of Russia according to the 2010 All-Russia census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of higher education divided by the national average level of higher education. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_e = e_2 / 28\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 3.6]. When virtually all individuals age 6 and older of an ethnic population older than 6 have received tertiary education in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 3.6. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of higher education significantly lower than national average), then the score, De_2 , will be 0.25. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of higher education largely comparable to national average), then De_2 will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of higher education significantly higher than national average), then De_2 will be 1.

An ethnic population's level of illiteracy is assessed in relation to the national average level of illiteracy of Russia according to the 2010 All-Russia census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of illiteracy divided by the national average level of illiteracy. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_i = i_2 / 0.32\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 312.5]. When virtually all individuals of a population older than 6 were illiterate in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 312.5. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of illiteracy significantly lower than national average), then the score, Di_2 , will be 1. If the

location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 3.125 (level of illiteracy largely comparable to national average), then Di_2 will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 3.125 but no higher than the maximum (level of illiteracy significantly higher than national average), then Di_2 will be 0.25.

An ethnic population's level of inter-ethnic marriages is assessed in relation to the national average level of inter-ethnic marriages of Russia according to the 2010 All-Russia census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of inter-ethnic marriages divided by the national average level of inter-ethnic marriages. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_m = m_2 / 12\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 8.3]. When virtually all individuals married of a population had spouses whose ethnic category was different from his or hers in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 8.3. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of inter-ethnic marriages significantly lower than national average), then the score, Dm_2 , will be 0.25. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of inter-ethnic marriages largely comparable to national average), then Dm_2 will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of inter-ethnic marriages significantly higher than national average), then Dm_2 will be 1.

An titular ethnic population's level of residential concentration is assessed in relation to the percentage of ethnic minority populations residing in their designated ethno-regions in the total population of these ethnic minority populations in Russia according to the 2010 All-Russia census, by means of calculating the location quotient of the ethnic population's level of concentration in the ethno-region designated for them divided by the

national average level of residential concentration among ethnic minorities in their designated ethno-regions. Location quotient is calculated using the following formula: $LQ_r = r_2 / 65.3\%$. The range of the quotient is (0, 1.53]. When virtually all individuals of a population were residing in the ethno-region(s) designated for that ethnic category in the 2010 census, its quotient will reach 1.53. If the location quotient of the population is lower than 0.75 (level of residential concentration significantly lower than national average), then the score, Dr_2 , will be 1. If the location quotient of the population is no lower than 0.75 but no higher than 1.25 (level of residential concentration largely comparable to national average), then Dr_2 will be 0.75. If the location quotient of the population is higher than 1.25 but no higher than the maximum (level of residential concentration significantly higher than national average), then Dr_2 will be 0.25.

Table 5.2. Key indicators of social integration for ethnic Tatars in Russia

	2002	2010
Total Population in the Russian Federation	5,554,601 (including 24,668 Kerashens ^a)	5,310,649 (including 34,822 Kerashens)
% of those living in urban areas	68.3% (Russia), 66.5% (Tatarstan)	67.8% (Russia), 68.8% (Tatarstan), 61.6% (ethnic Tatars in Bashkortostan)
% of those who have received tertiary education	15.5% ^b (Russia)	20.1% ^c (Russia), 24.6% ^d (Russia), 27.2% ^e (Tatarstan), 33% ^f (urban Tatarstan), 23.9% ^g (ethnic Tatars in Bashkortostan), 29.3% ^h (ethnic Tatars in urban Bashkortostan)

% of those illiterate	0.83% (Russia)	0.4% (Russia)
% of those married to ethnic Russians	n.a.	21.6% (Russia), less than 12.9% (Tatarstan)
% of those married to ethnic non-Tatars	41.7% (outside Tatarstan), less than 14% (Tatarstan)	31.3% (Russia, 4.9% married to ethnic Bashkirs), 12.9% (Tatarstan)
% of those living in the Republic of Tatarstan	36% (2,000,116, including 18,760 Kerəshens)	37.9% (2,012,571, including 29,962 Kerəshens)
% of those living in subnational-level administrative units other than Tatarstan	17.8% in Bashkortostan, 4.4% in Tyumen (including Khanty-Mansi), 3.7% in Chelyabinsk, 3% in the City of Moscow, 3% in Orenburg, 3% in Ulyanovsk, 3% in Sverdlovsk, 2.5% in Perm	19% in Bashkortostan, 4.5% in Tyumen (including Khanty-Mansi), 3.4% in Chelyabinsk, 2.9% in Orenburg, 2.8% in Ulyanovsk, 2.8% in the City of Moscow, 2.7% in Sverdlovsk, 2.4% in Samara

^a The Kerəshens, known for mostly practicing Orthodox Christianity while speaking Tatar, were counted as a sub-category of Tatars in the 2002 and 2010 All-Russia population censuses.

^b Including those with partially completed tertiary education.

^c Not including those with partially completed tertiary education.

^{d e f g h} Including those with partially completed tertiary education.

Sources: Calculated from the following census publications, *All Russia Population Census 2002*. <http://www.perepis2002.ru/index.html?id=28> (accessed July 31, 2017); *All Russia Population Census 2010*. <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Table 5.3. Summary of ethnic Tatars' level of social integration in Russia (2010)

	Location quotient	Score
Urbanization	0.92	0.75

Higher Education	0.88	0.75
Illiteracy	1.25	0.75
Cross-ethnic marriage	2.6	1
Residential Concentration	0.58	1
Total score		85%

As summarized in Tables 5.2. and 5.3., according to the 2010 All-Russia population census, the overall level of urbanization of the total population categorized as ethnic Tatars in Russia was 67.8%, slightly lower than the national average of 73.7%. Therefore, ethnic Tatars score 0.75 on Du_2 . The overall percentage of those who had attained tertiary education among ethnic Tatars in Russia was 24.6%, slightly lower than the national average of 28%. Thus, ethnic Tatars score 0.75 on De_2 as well. The overall level of illiteracy among ethnic Tatars in Russia was 0.4%, slightly higher than the national average of 0.32%. Thus, ethnic Tatars score also 0.75 on Di_2 . The overall percentage of those whose spouses were ethnically non-Tatar among all married ethnic Tatars in Russia was 31.3%, over two times higher than the national average of 12%. Thus, ethnic Tatars score 1 on Dm_2 . Only 37.9% of ethnic Tatars in Russia were residing in Tatarstan, significantly lower than the national average of 65.3% of all ethnic minority populations in Russia who were living in their designated ethno-regions. Accordingly, ethnic Tatars score 1 on Dr_2 . To sum up, the calculated country-wide level of social integration for the total population categorized as ethnic Tatars in Russia is 85% as of 2010.

High level of social integration of ethnic Tatars were also unanimously confirmed by most of my respondents. As interactions between ethnic Tatars and ethnic Russians are more common in urban areas of Tatarstan than in rural areas, Tatar-Russian friendship tends to be more common in the urban areas of Tatarstan, depending upon types of workplace, especially in those ethnically mixed professional settings³⁴⁰. In rural areas, inter-ethnic relations can be more complicated, where communities can be more close-knit while overlapping with inter-ethnic boundaries³⁴¹. Most of my respondents claim to have both ethnic Tatars and Russians represented among their close friends³⁴². Several respondents also claimed that ethnic Tatars were overrepresented in major universities in Kazan. For instance, in Kazan Federal University, over 60% of all enrolled students might have been ethnic Tatars or of partial ethnic Tatar ancestry³⁴³, even if ethnic Tatars constitute slightly more than 50% of the total population of Tatarstan. Illiteracy among adult-age ethnic Tatars was largely an unheard-of phenomenon during my fieldwork in Tatarstan.

Tatar-Russian inter-ethnic marriages tend to be sufficiently commonplace in urban centers of Tatarstan, especially in Kazan³⁴⁴. In some cases, inter-ethnic marriages have spanned two to three generations, and as a result, a considerably large population of bi-ethnic ancestry have formed in Kazan. Most individuals of cross-ethnic ancestry in Kazan

³⁴⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

³⁴³ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, April 27, May 16, and June 19, 2016.

³⁴⁴ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan, Yar Challı, and Ufa on April 15, April 22, April 27, May 17, May 21, June 11, and June 12, 2016.

speak Russian as their native language, and it somehow depends upon whether their mothers speak Tatar at home or not³⁴⁵ for them to grow up as Tatar speakers.

In terms of residential patterns, ethnic Tatar population and ethnic Russian population follow somehow differing patterns of distribution in Tatarstan. As shown in Table 5.4, for the Northeastern Economic Region centering around Yar Challı/Naberezhnye Chelny, its share of ethnic Tatars in the total population of ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan equals its share of ethnic Russians in the total population of ethnic Russians in Tatarstan. In the Northwestern (centering around Kazan) and Zakamsky Economic Regions, their shares of ethnic Tatars in the total population of ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan are lower than their shares of ethnic Russians in the total population of ethnic Russians in Tatarstan. In the Southeastern (centering around Əlmət/Almetyevsk), Predkamsky, and Privolzhsky Economic Regions, their shares of ethnic Tatars in the total population of ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan are higher than their shares of ethnic Russians in the total population of ethnic Russians in Tatarstan. Overall, ethnic Tatars tend to be more evenly distributed across Tatarstan, while ethnic Russians tend to be more concentrated in urban centers and valleys of such rivers as Volga and Kama. Ethnic Chuvashes in Tatarstan, whose population was 116,252 as of 2010, constitute the third largest ethnic population of RT. Over 50% of ethnic Chuvashes were concentrated in the southwestern part (i.e. Zakamsky and Privolzhsky Economic Regions) of Tatarstan that borders Republic of Chuvashia and Ulyanovsk Oblast’.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

In each of the seven districts³⁴⁶ of Kazan, its share of ethnic Tatars in the total population of ethnic Tatars in Kazan is largely comparable to its share of ethnic Russians in the total population of ethnic Russians in Kazan. The famous neighborhood called “Old Tatar Settlement” (Tatar: *İske Tatar Bistäse*; Russian: *Starotatarskaya Sloboda*) in Vakhitov District where historically Tatars used to be concentrated during the Imperial Russia period now bears only symbolic rather than demographic significance.

Table 5.4. Population and distribution of ethnic Tatars and ethnic Russians in Tatarstan (2010)

	Total	Total ethnic	% of all	Total ethnic	% of all
	Population who	Tatars	ethnic	Russians	ethnic
	indicated their	(% of the	Tatars in	(% of the	Russians in
	ethnicity in the	total	Tatarstan	total	Tatarstan
	2010 census	population of		population of	
		that region)		that region)	
Republic of	3,780,436	2,012,571	100%	1,501,369	100%
Tatarstan		(53.2%)		(39.7%)	
Northwestern	1,489,321	732,635	36.4%	702,615	46.8%
Economic		(49.2%)		(47.2%)	
Region					

³⁴⁶ Aviatözelesh/Aviastroitel'nyi, Vakhitov/Vakhitov, Kirov, Mäskäü/Moskva, Yanga Savin/Novo-Savinovskii, İdel Buyı/Privolzhski, Soviet.

Northeastern Economic Region	1,145,937	611,889 (53.4%)	30.4%	457,410 (39.9%)	30.4%
Southeastern Economic Region	518,058	288,289 (55.6%)	14.3%	187,608 (36.2%)	12.5%
Zakamsky (Kama Aryagı) Economic Region	273,768	119,713 (43.7%)	5.9%	106,068 (38.7%)	7.1%
Predkamsky (Kama Aldı) Economic Region	203,842	168,233 (82.5%)	8.4%	20,308 (10%)	1.4%
Privolzhsky (İdel Aldı) Economic Region	149,510	91,812 (61.4%)	4.6%	27,360 (18.3%)	1.8%

Source: Calculated from *Ethnic Composition, Command of Languages, Citizenship: Results of the 2010 All-Russia Population Census* (Kazan: Republic of Tatarstan Branch of the Federal Statistical Service, 2013).

To sum up, for the past three decades, ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan display greater tendency towards social integration with ethnic Russians. Russia-wide, ethnic Tatars have been tremendously more integrated into the mainstream society than have ethnic Uyghurs in China. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in the following section, ethno-national consciousness among ethnic Tatars did not fade. Instead, many ethnic Tatars stick to their ethnic identity, even if they have switched to Russian linguistically and are socially well-integrated.

Psychological identification among ethnic Tatars

Psychological identification lays the micro-foundation for group consciousness at the individual level. This dimension is analyzed into two aspects, the degree of thickness and the salience of an ethno-region's titular ethnic category against massive identity shift into the central state's ethnic majority category³⁴⁷. Throughout the 2000s and 2010s, the major tendency among ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan has been that ethnic consciousness remains stable and robust but nevertheless is not growing even thicker or more salient.

Thickness Important legacies of the Soviet institutional practices of categorizing populations in ethnic terms include, but are not confined to, each individual being assigned an ethnic category (Gorenburg 2003, 86; 2006b, 156), this category becoming a container of "descent-based attribute" (Chandra 2009, 377) and being transmitted³⁴⁸ from parents to children. In other words, one is ethnic Tatar because his or her parents are

³⁴⁷ For a more detailed definition of psychological identification, see the sub-section "Components of the Analytical Framework" in Introduction.

³⁴⁸ This is by no means a primordialist understanding of ethnicity. Rather, state agency was indispensable in terms of institutionalizing ethnic categories. As long as such classificatory scheme remains stable, people continue to perceive it as legitimate and to employ it.

ethnic Tatars, which is usually distinguished through family names. As a result, at least in consistency with the author's observations, most individuals in Tatarstan, even those of bi-ethnic or multi-ethnic ancestry, can unambiguously indicate whether he or she is ethnic Tatar, ethnic Russian, or at what "proportion" ethnic Tatar, ethnic Russian, or of other ethnicities.

In Tatarstan, the total population of ethnic Tatars rose from 1,765,400 in 1989, to 2,000,116 in 2002, and to 2,012,571 in 2010 (Gaisin et al. 2013, 38), which, provided that these numbers are reliable, can allude to a picture of Tatar ethnic consciousness not dwindling since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Massive shifts among the titular population to registering oneself as "ethnic Russians" in population censuses as observed in such ethnic republics as Mordovia, Mari El, etc.³⁴⁹ are not happening in Tatarstan. According to the longitudinal study conducted by Guzel Makarova et al. of all the urban-based ethnic Tatar respondents of the study, the percentage of those responding "yes" to "I never forget about my ethnicity"³⁵⁰ rose from 49.7% in 1994 to 58.7% in 2010 (2010, 93, 100). In the meantime, those responding "yes" to "my ethnicity and that of those around me have no meaning for me"³⁵¹ declined from 48.7% in 1994 to 20.1% in 2010 (93, 100). A similar study by Gulnara Gabdrakhmanova demonstrates that the percentage of urban ethnic Tatar respondents who responded "yes" to the question "I never forget about my ethnicity" raised from 50.5% in 1994 to 51.9% in 1999 to 77.6% in 2011 (2013, 472). As was optimistically asserted by the political advisor of the former President of

³⁴⁹ The total population of ethnic Mordvins in Russia dwindled from 1,072,939 in 1989 to 744,237 in 2010 by 30.6%; the total population of ethnic Mari in Russia dwindled from 714,833 in 1989 to 552,299 by 22.7% (2010 All-Russia Population Census).

³⁵⁰ Russian: *Ya nikogda ne zabyvayu o svoei natsional'nosti*.

³⁵¹ Russian: *Dlya menya ne imeet znacheniya moya natsional'nost' i natsional'nost' okruzhayushchikh*.

RT Mintimer Shəimiev, Rafael Khəkim³⁵², even if ethnic Tatars had collectively switched to the Russian language and abandoned the Tatar language, the Tatar identity would still stay because “identity is determined neither by language nor by religion but by descent.”³⁵³ A more sociologically-oriented understanding of Tatar identity formation was provided by an ethnic Tatar historian, Damir İskhakov, who commented that “(shared identity of) a people does not emanate from biomass (genetic pools) but rather is spawned out of (shared) language, (shared) culture, and (shared) political processes”³⁵⁴ in response to certain interpretations of genetic studies indicating genetic diversity among the ethnic Tatar population in Russia.

Rise of Tatar ethnic consciousness since the dissolution of the Soviet Union is also confirmed by other respondents. Of the Tatar-speaking ethnic Tatars with whom I interacted in Tatarstan, some with strong ethnic consciousness tended to perceive their ethnicity as coterminous with linguistically-based distinctions, especially when knowledge of Tatar was viewed as a convenient cognitive device distinguishing “us” from “them”. Meanwhile, rise of religious consciousness among both Tatars and Russians also leads to some ethnic Tatars or ethnic Russians requiring ethnic identity to overlap with religious-based identities. Concretely, for some ethnic Tatars, being ethnically Tatar means identifying as Muslim while speaking Tatar, whereas for some ethnic Russians, being ethnically Russian means identifying as Orthodox Christian while

³⁵² Once the deputy head of the ideology department of TASSR *oblast'*-level committee of CPSU (Kondrashov 2000, 125-126).

³⁵³ Russian: *ne po yazyku i ne po religii, a po proiskhozhdeniyu*, Rafael Khakimov, “What would happen if Tatars completely switched to Russian?” [in Russian] *Biznes Online*, <https://www.business-gazeta.ru/blog/206038> (accessed February 28, 2017).

³⁵⁴ Tatar: *Xalık biomassadan barlıkka kilmi. Anı tel, mədəniyyət həm səyəsi protsesslar tudıra*, Kərim Yaush, “Op-ed: We are a multi-ethnic Tatar people!” [in Tatar] *Azatlıq Radiosı*, <http://www.azatliq.org/a/28189135.html> (accessed February 28, 2017).

speaking Russian. In this regard, more ethno-nationally minded Tatars would tend to attach varying extents of emotion to the Tatar language, to being a Muslim, or to Tatar folkloric music.

However, such trends are not nearly dominant in Tatarstan. Ethnic Tatars who have no knowledge of the Tatar language still identify themselves as Tatars, and they are also, more often than not, perceived as “Tatars who have lost mother tongue” by their Tatar-speaking “co-ethnics.” Ethnic Tatars who do not identify as Muslims still identify themselves as Tatars, and they are also perceived as “non-believing Tatars” (Russian: *neveruyushchie Tatary*) by their Muslim “co-ethnics.” Kerəshens, a sub-ethnic category of ethnic Tatars who traditionally identify as Orthodox Christians, a minority of Tengriists, and a tiny minority of evangelical Christians also identify themselves as ethnic Tatars. Among ethnic Russians, more tend not to identify with any religious practice than those who identify as Orthodox Christians, while there is also a really tiny but visible minority who identify as Muslims. Despite the variety of religiously-based identities, Tatars continue to identify as Tatars while Russians continue to identify as Russians³⁵⁵. Overall, Tatar identity tends to be decreasingly tied to many attributes but one, namely, descent, and in this sense, the extension of Tatar identity has become broadly encompassing but still stable by clinging to the rule-of-thumb attribute of descent.

Salience Since RF citizens’ ethnicity is no longer indicated on governmentally-issued identification papers, ethnic categories like “Tatar”, “Russian”, etc. no longer bear formal

³⁵⁵ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

implications in individual citizens' receipts of governmental services, even if it remains technically possible to tell their ethnicity by looking at their family names or given names. In this sense, Tatar-Russian boundary has become increasingly "de-reified" and de-emphasized when it comes to governmental services, education, labor market, etc. Nevertheless, ethnic categories and inter-ethnic relations remain contested topics in Tatarstan. According to the survey-based, longitudinal research conducted by Gulnara Gabdrakhmanova, both ethnic Tatar (at 89.1%) and ethnic Russian respondents (at 86.6%) in Tatarstan tend to emphasize the importance of the notion of "inter-ethnic equality". However, the meaning of "inter-ethnic equality" tends to differ drastically across respondents of two ethnic categories. Ethnic Russian respondents emphasize representation in state organs of RT that is proportional to the population weight of each ethnic category, while ethnic Tatar respondents emphasize RT state's measures to protect and to promote the cultural interests and identity of ethnic Tatars (Gabdrakhmanova 2013, 474-475).

TATAR ELITES' BARGAINING CAPACITY

Tatar-Russian elite-level relations

Elite-level inter-ethnic relations is analyzed on two aspects, nature of elite-level relationship and networks of elite-level political alliances. In Tatarstan, higher level of linguistic Russification among ethnic Tatars has been a necessary condition for ethnic Tatar elites to build cross-group networks of political alliances as well as more collusive relationships with ethnic Russian elites both at the central-state and ethno-regional levels.

Since the late 1980s/early 1990s, incumbent ethnic Tatar elites of RT have been able to foster and maintain with the central-state elites in Moscow relationships that can be characterized as horizontally collusive. Such collusive relationships were manifested in the exchanges of political or economic favors between incumbent ethnic Tatar elites of RT and central-state elites.

Politically, the first post-Soviet President of RT, Mintimer Shəimiev³⁵⁶ supported, in the early 1990s, Boris Yeltsin against a potential chain effect of secessionist movements in ethnic republics vis-à-vis the inchoate Russian Federation, which itself only recently declared independence from the Soviet Union. After four rounds of negotiations³⁵⁷ between Boris Yeltsin's office and RT that covered a comprehensive package of issues such as RT's formal status in relation to the Russian Federation, delimitations of jurisdictions between the federal government and RT, control over natural resources, etc. (Malik 1994), RT was recognized as a "state united with the Russian Federation"³⁵⁸ in the treaty signed between RT and Moscow in 1994 (Graney 2009, 38) and was granted more favorable tax privileges than many other constituent entities of Russia (40). When Vladimir Putin tried to shore up central-state's control over the constituent entities, Mintimer Shəimiev was not dilatory in terms of becoming one of the founders in 2001 of the United Russia (hereafter UR) party in support of Vladimir Putin's presidency. Not coincidentally, the second and currently incumbent president of RT, Röstəm

³⁵⁶ Once first secretary of TASSR oblast'-level committee of the CPSU prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union. He supported the 1991 *coup d'état* to preserve the USSR (Kondrashov 2000, 104-105).

³⁵⁷ Boris Yeltsin's office was represented first by Gennady Burbulis, an ethnic Lithuanian and former State Secretary of the RF then by Sergei Shakhrai, former deputy prime minister of the RF. RT was represented by Rafael Khəkim, political advisor to Mintimer Shəimiev, and İndus Tahir, an ethnic Tatar historian (Malik 1994, 14).

³⁵⁸ Russian: *gosudarstvo, ob'yedinyonnoe s Rossiskoi Federatsiyey*.

Mingnekhanov, is also a member of the UR³⁵⁹. While treaties reached in the 1990s between Moscow and other constituent entities of Russia were not renewed, the 1994 federal-RT treaty was the sole treaty ever renewed³⁶⁰. Moreover, RT's preservation of the title "President" alludes not only to previous elite-level collusive relationships but also to RT's unique political status (Russian: *osobennost'*)³⁶¹.

Economically, on behalf of their republic, RT-based elites have been not only contributing to but also receiving³⁶² from the federal bursar more than elites of any other ethnic republic in Russia³⁶³. Marat Khösnullin, an ethnic Tatar elite who was the RT Minister of Construction and Housing between 2001 and 2010, was able to lobby for major investments from the federal government in the urban development of Tatarstan. His connections to the central-state elites, combined with his ability to have cost-effective urban development programs commissioned and launched, earned him reputation. Starting 2010, he has been working as the deputy mayor of Moscow³⁶⁴ and overseeing massive urban development projects in RF's capital. In sum, overall amicable relationships between Moscow-based and Kazan-based elites has sustained exchange of political support, from Tatarstan, for financial transfers, subsidies, contracts, from Moscow³⁶⁵.

³⁵⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, April 27, and May 17 of 2016.

³⁶⁰ In 2007.

³⁶¹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

³⁶² Not just in terms of transfer payments.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Government of the City of Moscow, <https://www.mos.ru/authority/person/19157093> (accessed December 31, 2017).

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

Moreover, Tatar elites of RT tend to build their personal and political networks not only with their “co-ethnics” but also with Tatarstan’s ethnic Russian elites and populace. In Gulnaz Sharafutdinova’s study of how crony capitalism led to the decline of democratic support and rise of authoritarian legitimacy in Russia, she notes the rise of a broad-based elite network in Tatarstan involving Kazan-based political elites on the republic level, the county³⁶⁶-level political elites, and economic elites represented by directors of republic-controlled major enterprises (2010, 89). This network, though led mostly by ethnic Tatar elites such as Mintimer Shaimiev and Röstəm Mingnekhanov, cuts across ethnicity and involves also ethnic Russian elites such as Vasiliy Likhachev³⁶⁷, Oleg Morozov³⁶⁸, and Aleksei Pesoshin³⁶⁹. Elites of both Tatar and Russian ethnicities involved in such networks have been the primary actors in terms of decision-makings at the ethno-regional level, preparation of cadres, planning of economy, lobbying in the Federal Council, State Duma, and with the President of RF for benefits, favors, or privileges³⁷⁰.

Such collusive, inclusive relationships may have been predicated upon three characteristics of incumbent ethnic Tatar elites: competent Russian-language skills, which is a necessary condition, ideological adaptability, and negotiating skills (Sharafutdinova 2013, 516).

As a result of decades of linguistic Russification in urban areas and cadre indigenization under the Soviet Union, by the time Tatarstan declared its sovereignty in 1990 (Graney

³⁶⁶ Russian: *rayon*.

³⁶⁷ RT’s vice-president during 1991-1995.

³⁶⁸ One of the two representatives of Tatarstan at the Federal Council of RF since 2014.

³⁶⁹ RT’s prime minister since 2017.

³⁷⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

2009, 24), among both the Tatar intelligentsia and the incumbent Tatar political elites in the ethno-regional state apparatuses, Russian became the dominant language at work and in formal settings. Regardless of whether they spoke Russian or Tatar as their first language (Giuliano 2000, 304), what was common and remains common to almost the entire Tatar elites in Kazan is their native or close-to-native fluency in Russian. A respondent who can be classified as a member of the Tatar intelligentsia, expressed in Tatar his ambivalence towards ethnic Tatars' competency in the Russian language: "although I am not quite satisfied with the extent to which Tatar is being used in Kazan, I can still proudly say that virtually all Tatars in Kazan know Russian as well as Russians do, sometimes even better..."³⁷¹

Equipped with solid language skills to lobby with elites based in Moscow, incumbent Tatar elites have also been ideologically highly resilient. In the early 1990s, the dominant frame centered on the themes of "self-determination" and "democratization" and allowed for amalgamating the goals of democracy and federalism. Rafael Khəkim, Mintimer Shəimiev's political advisor, fervently argued for the link between democracy and federalism. Construing "democracy" as movement of national liberation (Russian: *demokratiya kak dvizheniye natsii k svobode*) while emphasizing right to self-determination (Khakimov 2007, 61-70), Rafael Khəkim recombined the Soviet discourse of "national self-determination" with the post-Soviet catchword of "democracy" (Sharafutdinova 2013, 365). Not surprisingly, terms such as "democracy" and "federalism" are used interchangeably in most of Mintimer Shəimiev's speeches (365). In such framings of "democracy" with "federalism", incumbent ethnic Tatar political elites

³⁷¹ Anonymous interview conducted in Kazan on May 17, 2016.

tend to argue that federalism and center-periphery power-sharing should be the ways democracy works in a multiethnic state³⁷².

Moscow-based elites also promoted the notion of linking democracy with federalism. In his 1994 annual address, Boris Yeltsin dedicated an entire section to discussing federalism, positing it as a central theme on the agenda of the Russian government (366). This popular frame politically and discursively empowered RF's constituent entities in the 1990s. Nevertheless, the discursive field shifted by the end of the 1990s, and the new frame introduced by Vladimir Putin focused on strengthening the state by centralizing power and by requiring ethno-regional-level laws and regulations to align with federal-level ones. Such a new frame significantly reduced the leeway for ethno-regions to engage in claim-making or more assertive actions vis-à-vis the central-state (Sharafutdinova 2013, 357-358). This dramatic shift of public discourse in Russia occurred as a result of the 1998 financial crisis, the 1999 unrest in the North Caucasus, and a wave of bombings in Moscow and several other cities in Russia (368).

As the coercive and fiscal capacity of Moscow under Vladimir Putin grew in the 2000s, incumbent Tatar elites represented by Mintimer Shaimiev and his successor Röstəm Mingnekhanov adjusted their rhetoric in such a way as to align with the catchwords of “modernization, innovation, and economic diversification” (Sharafutdinova 2013, 523) promoted by Moscow. Although up to 80% of RT's annual tax revenue has been collected by Moscow under Putin³⁷³, RT political elites have been able to benefit from their rhetorical alignments both financially and politically (517), especially in terms of

³⁷² Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

³⁷³ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

attracting federal investments, winning contracts to host federally-sponsored projects/events³⁷⁴, as well as defending Tatarstan's prerogatives within the federal framework.

Notably, in the 2014 annexation of the Crimean Peninsula by RF, RT's incumbent ethnic Tatar elites played an active role in terms of reaching out to the Crimean Tatar community and persuading them into accepting to join the RF. Immediately prior to the actual annexation, Röstəm Mingnekhanov flew to Simferopol', the capital of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, where he met the incumbent ethnic Russian elites of the republic and expressed the hope that "Crimean Tatars would support the referendum"³⁷⁵ on whether the republic should secede from Ukraine and join the RF, especially when it was believed that ethno-nationally-minded Crimean Tatar elites would oppose a potential annexation by Russia. The first President of RT, Mintimer Shəimiev, even led negotiation sessions in Moscow with Mustafa Dzhemilev, who was a Soviet-era dissident and widely considered the leader of the ethno-national movement among Crimean Tatars, on "promoting the relationships"³⁷⁶ between Kazan Tatars and Crimean Tatars³⁷⁷.

³⁷⁴ Anonymous interview conducted in Kazan on April 27, 2016. Examples of such projects/events include the 2013 Summer Universiade held in Kazan and the Innopolis IT Innovation Park in the Verkhneuslonskii County of RT.

³⁷⁵ Government of the Republic of Tatarstan, "Rustam Minnikhanov takes part in special session of Supreme Council of the Republic of Crimea," March 11, 2014, <http://prav.tatarstan.ru/eng/index.htm/news/277773.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017).

³⁷⁶ "Mintimer Shəimiev was involved in the negotiations with Crimean Tatars." [in Russian], *RosBiznesKonsalting*, <https://rt.rbc.ru/tatarstan/12/03/2014/55928f549a794751dc833961> (accessed July 31, 2017).

³⁷⁷ Although both Kazan and Crimean Tatars are heirs of the Golden Horde, relations between the two populations were not consistently marked by amicability. According to historian Damir Iskhakov, when Moscow ordered in 1944 the collective deportation of ethnic Crimean Tatars to Central Asia, many ethnic Kazan Tatar soldiers participated in the enforcement of the deportation. Ibid.

Moreover, incumbent Tatar elites also bother to establish an inclusive image by seeking popular support from ethnic Russian and other ethnic populations in Tatarstan (518). For example, in the 1992 Tatarstan referendum over the issue of sovereignty, incumbent Tatar elites represented by Mintimer Shaimiev reframed the issue of sovereignty, which was originally introduced by Tatar nationalists in more ethnically-specific terms, as “a good benefiting all residents of Tatarstan regardless of their ethnicity” (Giuliano 2000, 303).

Most notably, compared to titular elites of other ethnic republics of the RF, incumbent Tatar elites in Tatarstan have been able “to institutionalize the informal practice of negotiating with the federal center over thorny issues in search of compromise solutions” (Sharafutdinova 2013, 520). Even when the central-state was trying to intensify fiscal and personnel control over constituent entities in the 2000s, RT was still able to reach the 2007 Treaty RFRT, more modestly-worded as it may sound compared to the 1994 treaty between Kazan and Moscow, on power-sharing with Moscow in which the recognition of the official status of the Tatar language in parallel to Russian is preserved (Treaty RFRT 2007, Article 2.5).

Moscow's perception of Tatarstan and ethnic Tatars

More solid social integration of ethnic Tatars has been a necessary condition for lower risk of secession and more positive image of Tatarstan as perceived by the central-state in Moscow. Post-Soviet incumbent political elites in Moscow tend to view Tatarstan as one of the most important constituent entities of the RF, owing to both its political and economic significance for Moscow. Politically, Kazan-based political elites have

consistently been trying to present themselves as allies not only for Boris Yeltsin but also for Vladimir Putin, especially in the event of presidential elections, legislative elections and Russia's annexation of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014³⁷⁸. Economically, Tatarstan is considered vital for Russia due to its solid, industrially-based economic contours that feature oil extractions and refinery, soft and controlled transition to market economy, innovative investment policies, and trade ties both within and outside Russia. Symbolically, Tatarstan represents the diverse, multiethnic aspect of Russia, and its political stability and economic prosperity are considered pivotal in terms of setting up a model for other ethnic republics of Russia.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, linguistic Russification, augmented level of urbanization, increased prevalence of higher education, and relatively high intermarriage rates with ethnic non-Tatars have continued to characterize the demography of ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan. Not only has ethnic Tatar elites' fluency in Russian been taken for granted, but incumbent ethnic Tatar elites of Tatarstan have also been perceived as an important support base for the UR (Russian: *Yedinaya Rossiya*) party led by Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev and as reliable partners in hosting capital-intensive mega-events (e.g. 2013 Universiade, 2015 World Aquatics Championship, 2018 FIFA World Cup) that are considered vital to building Russia's international image. In 2002, Vladimir Putin delivered a speech partially in the Tatar language at the Kurultay³⁷⁹ of World Tatar Congress held in Kazan and impressed the entire hall of audience, though by reading aloud prepared texts³⁸⁰. Between 2007 and 2011, Vladimir Putin visited Tatarstan four

³⁷⁸ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, April 27, May 12, May 17, and June 15 of 2016

³⁷⁹ "Convention" in Tatar.

³⁸⁰ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T5XArpbMcrw> (accessed July 31, 2017).

times in his capacity of being the prime minister of RF, whereas Dmitry Medvedev visited Tatarstan six times both in his capacity of being the first-deputy prime minister of RF and later the president of RF. Most of such visits had their themes ranging from revival of the automobile and chemical industries, to the preparatory works for the 2013 Kazan Universiade, to participating in the ethnic Tatar cultural events *Sabantuy*³⁸¹.

The current president of RT, Röstəm Mingnekhanov, can be characterized as most-of-the-time speaking only Russian, skilled in terms of lobbying for capital investments from Moscow to Kazan³⁸², and capable of having the contracted projects effectively carried out in Tatarstan (Sharafutdinova 2013, 526), thus setting up a “Tatarstan model” of lobbying with the central state in Moscow (526). In this regard, Vladimir Putin once fondly commented that “How can we be without the Tatars” and “it is the choice of the people of Tatarstan to decide whether to keep the title “President” for the republic’s head of state” in response to the questions posed by a correspondent from the Tatarstan-based electronic magazine *Biznes Online*³⁸³. Even if Putin expressed allusively in 2007 his concerns about the mandatory teaching of titular languages in certain ethnic republics, he did that not in Kazan but in Yoshkar-Ola, capital of Mari El, a politically and economically much less powerful ethnic republic to the north of Tatarstan³⁸⁴.

³⁸¹ “Medvedev is coming to Tatarstan, following Putin’s itinerary,” [in Russian] *Tatpressa.ru*, <http://www.tatpressa.ru/news/1460.html> (accessed July 31 2017); “Medvedev gave a ride to Mingnekhanov,” [in Russian] *Biznes Online*, <https://www.business-gazeta.ru/article/347044> (accessed July 31 2017).

³⁸² Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 27 and May 12 of 2016.

³⁸³ Elena Kolebakina, “Vladimir Putin: How can we be without the Tatars,” [in Russian] *Biznes Online*, <https://www.business-gazeta.ru/article/148209> (accessed February 28 2017).

³⁸⁴ “It is not acceptable to make mandatory the teaching of languages that are not students’ mother tongue.” [in Tatar] *Azatliq Radiosı*, <https://www.azatliq.org/a/28629024.html> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Overall, since ethnic Tatars are fluent in Russian, widely dispersed throughout the Russian Federation, structurally well embedded in the Russian mainstream society, while intermarrying with ethnic Russians extensively, despite ethnic Tatars' robust consciousness of their identity, the risk for Tatarstan to secede from Russia has become lower. The central-state not only places trust in the ability of Tatarstani elites but also uses Tatarstan as a model ethno-region to enhance Russia's international image. In this sense, incumbent ethnic Tatar political elites, especially the bloc centered around Mintimer Shəimiev and Röstəm Mingnekhanov, are considered "important partners" by Moscow³⁸⁵.

Intra-Tatar cleavage structure: Tatar elites and Tatar populace

The dimension of intra-ethnic cleavage structure entails the political, economic, and cultural divides between the elites and the masses of the titular ethnic group and addresses the questions as regard what dimensions of cleavages exist and how salient they can be. In Tatarstan, greater tendency towards Tatar-Russian social integration coupled with robust self-identification as ethnically distinct among ethnic Tatars has been separately necessary and jointly sufficient for higher level of intra-Tatar cohesion and Tatar elites' capacity to mobilize.

According to both the 2002 and the 2010 population censuses, the level of urbanization for ethnic Tatars Russia-wide remained stable around 68%³⁸⁶. In Tatarstan alone, level of

³⁸⁵ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 12, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

³⁸⁶ Russian Federation Federal Statistics Service, *All Russia Population Census 2002*, <http://www.perepis2002.ru/index.html?id=28> (accessed July 31, 2017); Russian Federation Federal

urbanization for ethnic Tatars rose from 66.5% in 2002 to 68.8% in 2010³⁸⁷. In Bashkortostan, level of urbanization for ethnic Tatars reached 61.6% in 2010³⁸⁸. The level of higher education for ethnic Tatars Russia-wide rose from 15.5% in 2002 to 24.6% in 2010³⁸⁹. In Tatarstan alone, level of higher education reached 27.2% in 2010 for ethnic Tatars and 33% for ethnic Tatars in urban areas³⁹⁰. In Bashkortostan, level of higher education for ethnic Tatars reached 23.9% in 2010³⁹¹. Of all married ethnic Tatars in Russia, the percentage of those with ethnically non-Tatar spouses was 41.7% in 2002 and 31.3% in 2010³⁹². In Tatarstan alone, the percentage of ethnic Tatars whose spouses were ethnically non-Tatar remained stable around 13% from 2002 through 2010³⁹³, lower than the level of exogamy among ethnic Tatars Russia-wide.

Simultaneously, the level of urbanization for ethnic Russians Russia-wide reached 76.8% in 2010, while level of urbanization for ethnic Russians in Tatarstan reached 86.8% in 2010. In this sense, ethnic Tatars' level of urbanization both Russia-wide and in Tatarstan, though still lagging behind that of ethnic Russians, was catching up. The level of higher education for ethnic Russians Russia-wide reached 28.9% in 2010, while level of higher education for ethnic Russians in Tatarstan alone reached 29% in 2010. In this regard, ethnic Tatars' level of higher education, though not one of the highest of all

Statistics Service, *All Russia Population Census 2010*, <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017).

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

ethnic minorities of Russia, was getting closer to that of ethnic Russians both Russia-wide and in Tatarstan.

According to the survey-based, time-series research conducted by Gulnara Gabdrakhmanova in Tatarstan, among her ethnic Russian respondents, the level of trust tended to be placed slightly higher in their co-ethnics than in ethnic Tatars. Among her ethnic Tatar respondents, the level of trust tended to be placed also slightly higher in ethnic Russians than in their co-ethnics (2013, 480). Nevertheless, her study shows that level of trust placed in ethnic Russians by ethnic Tatars and level of trust placed in ethnic Tatars by ethnic Russians were similar, both around 90%, which can be reflective of a tendency towards symmetric and high level of inter-ethnic trust (480).

Overall, throughout the 2000s, the socio-economic stratification pattern of ethnic Tatars and ethnic Russians both Russia-wide and in Tatarstan carried on the trend of becoming similar that started in the final decades of the Soviet Union. In Tatarstan alone, by the end of the 2000s, a significant stratum (close to 30%) of ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan tended to bear similarly elevated socio-economic profiles not only to their co-ethnics but also to ethnic Russians (also close to 30%). In this sense, the ethnically-based cleavage between ethnic Tatars and ethnic Russians tends to increasingly crosscut with socio-economically-based cleavages both Russia-wide and in Tatarstan. Meanwhile, ethnic consciousness among ethnic Tatars remains stable and robust enough to guard against massive identity shifts into the central state's majority category, and individuals in Tatarstan continue to interact with one another and to act socio-politically in ethnic terms. Higher degree of social integration translates into internally less differentiated, less polarized socio-economic/cultural cleavage structure among ethnic Tatars. This leads to increased

economic, social, and cultural capitals³⁹⁴ (Bourdieu 2004, 168-181) among a significant stratum of ethnic Tatars as well as to increased possibility of upward social mobility encouraging ethnic Tatars from lower social strata to identify with or to become themselves elites, which in turn promotes intra-ethnic cohesion and titular elites' mobilizing capacity. Less differentiated intra-ethnic cleavage structure interweaves with more crosscutting inter-ethnic cleavage structure in Tatarstan and can even be conducive to incumbent Tatar elites' capacity to reach out to ethnic Russians who reside in Tatarstan.

As around 30% of ethnic Tatars in Tatarstan still reside in rural areas³⁹⁵, the line of the most durable intra-Tatar socio-economic cleavage can still be drawn between urban and rural Tatars. Nevertheless, considering that population flow from rural areas into urban centers continues and that most of the top ethnically Tatar political elites of Tatarstan hail from the countryside³⁹⁶ and maintain patron-client relationships with rural elites and populace (Sharafutdinova 2013, 518, 521; Giuliano 2000, 307), intra-Tatar urban-rural cleavage is being more or less mitigated. Instead, a significantly broad spectrum of mostly urban-based Tatars and a minority of rural Tatars were mobilized in the ethno-national movement that led to RT's declaration of sovereignty in 1990.

³⁹⁴ Pierre Bourdieu defines "social capital" as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 2004, 174). Meanwhile, "cultural capital", according to Bourdieu, can take three forms, i.e. embodied state, or long lasting dispositions of the mind and body; objectified state, such as cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.); institutionalized state, most conspicuously realized through educational qualifications (169).

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, 27 and May 17 of 2016.

By the late 1980s, the majority of ethnic Tatars in TASSR had become urbanized (over 63%, Kondrashov 2000, 10), with 28.6% of ethnic Tatars engaged in “mental jobs” (11). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as more Tatars than not shared similar socio-economic profiles, urban-based (mostly in Kazan, Naberezhnye Chelny, and Ufa) ethnic Tatar intellectual/cultural elites were able to mobilize first-generation ethnic Tatar urban residents originally from the rural areas and some ethnic-Tatar rural teachers and doctors (Gorenburg 2003,183). Intellectual elites who perceive themselves as “shouldering the burden” of maintaining Tatar cultural and linguistic heritages formed the Tatar Public Centre (Russian: *Tatarskii obshchestvennyi tsentr*; Tatar: *Tatar İctimagıy Üzäge*) in 1988 (54) and effectively cooperated with a variety of socio-political forces including the TASSR CPSU apparatus (55), the cross-ethnic pro-democracy movement, and the more radical Tatar nationalist movement (56-57). Throughout such mobilizations, one of the major goals activists pursued was state recognition and support of the Tatar language, and this goal struck a chord broadly among the urban, linguistically Russified Tatar population (Giuliano 2000, 305).

Eventually, both such mobilizations and part of their ethno-nationally framed concerns were either co-opted or appropriated by the incumbent ethnic Tatar *nomenklatura* elites represented by Mintimer Shaimiev. For instance, the *nomenklatura* authorities of Tatarstan founded under its own umbrella the organization “World Congress of Tatars” (Tatar: *Bötöndönya Tatar Kongressı*, Kondrashov 2000, 185-187). This organization later developed itself into an outreach initiative connecting the government of the Republic of Tatarstan to ethnic Tatars throughout the world (e.g. ethnic Tatars in China, Finland, Japan, the U.S., Australia, etc.). An important fruit of the ethno-national mobilizations,

whose impact is still felt today, was the enacting in 1992 of the *Law on the State Languages of the Republic of Tatarstan and Other Languages in the Republic of Tatarstan* that stipulates formal recognition of the Tatar language in the realms of government, education and public sphere (Gorenburg 2003, 211-212). The instrumental view of ethno-nationalist mobilizations was explicitly expressed by such incumbent elites as former RT prime minister Möxəmmət Sabirov³⁹⁷ and Rafael Khəkim, who claimed to have learned the “technology” to call up national forces, to direct and use nationalists’ demonstrations, and to control them (Şahiner 2002, 271).

Against the backdrop of the less polarized intra-Tatar cleavage structure and of the more crosscutting Tatar-Russian cleavage structure with class-based cleavage structure in Tatarstan, a “monocentric” (Sharafutdinova 2010, 84) oligarchical system under Mintimer Shəimiev formed in the 1990s and the 2000s, underpinned mostly by the informal networks led by ethnic Tatar political and economic elites who were originally from rural areas. In the 1990s, as some of the most significant economic assets have been kept under state control, the opportunities for privatization and entrepreneurship were open to the few individuals who have close or even familial ties to top incumbent political elites like Mintimer Shəimiev (87). In the meantime, these elites were carefully averting emergence of independent economic elites that could engage in competition for political power (91). The attainment of control by the Shəimiev-centered network over the major economic assets in Tatarstan allowed for integrating the political system, which, in turn, facilitated the controlled process of economic transformation aimed at enhancing the political legitimacy of the Shəimiev-headed regime (90-91). Most

³⁹⁷ Prime minister of RT 1991-1995.

significantly, the RT state was able to devise, in the 1990s and 2000s, a re-distribution system within the republic that permitted keeping major enterprises in operation, avoiding bankruptcy and securing employment for many by using resources from more lucrative sectors to subsidize less lucrative ones (91).

A quintessential example of how Tatarstan's "monocentric" oligarchical network around Shaimiev organizes itself can be the business conglomerate called Tatar-American Investments and Finances (TAIF), whose major mission is to control financial flows within Tatarstan³⁹⁸. TAIF attracts and uses private, state, and foreign capitals while operating in investment, petrochemistry, telecommunications, construction, and other sectors³⁹⁹. The top executive officers of TAIF have been mostly ethnic Tatars⁴⁰⁰.

Last but not least, not all ethnic Tatar elites in Tatarstan would agree about the location or meaning of Tatar-Russian inter-ethnic boundaries. The mainstream boundary-making strategies adopted by ethnic Tatar political elites in Tatarstan include boundary-blurring⁴⁰¹ and boundary-expansion⁴⁰², which tend to de-emphasize the Tatar-Russian boundaries by aspiring to create a bilingual "nation" out of the entire population of Tatarstan while encompassing various subgroups such as Kazan Tatars, Mishars, Kereshens, Siberian Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Kasym Tatars, etc. under one umbrella of

³⁹⁸ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, April 27, May 16, and June 19 of 2016.

³⁹⁹ Bloomberg, "Company Overview of TAIF PSC," available at <https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot.asp?privcapid=25037687> (accessed July 31, 2017).

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ The strategy of boundary-blurring aims at overcoming ethnicity as a principle of categorization and social organization altogether. Alternative principles are promoted in order to undermine the legitimacy of ethnically-based boundaries (Wimmer 2008, 989).

⁴⁰² The strategy of boundary-expansion aims at creating a more encompassing boundary by grouping existing categories into a new, expanded category (Wimmer 2008, 987).

“Tatars”. Meanwhile, other types of strategies such as boundary-contraction⁴⁰³ have also been visible on the margin.

The strategy of boundary-blurring aims at reconciling the consciousness of the distinct Tatar ethnicity with the perception of Tatarstan as a multi-ethnic homeland for ethnic Tatars, ethnic Russians, and so forth alike. Rafael Khəkim theorizes that what makes a nation is shared statehood (Russian: *gosudarstvennaya obshchnost'*, Tatar: *däülätchelek*, Wəliev 2011, 37) rather than shared (perceived) ethnic origin (Russian: *etnicheskoe proiskhozhdeniye*, 2007, 57). According to such a conception, the RT state is supposed to cultivate consciousness of a super-ethnic, common Tatarstani “national” identity among its population. Such a boundary-blurring, or nation-building (Wimmer 2013, 50-52) strategy as endorsed by the incumbent political elites of RT was criticized as “artificial” (Russian: *iskusstvennyi*) by certain cultural elites who tend to prefer not to expand so elastically the includable domain for the Tatar “nation”⁴⁰⁴. This group of elites also emphasize basing the Tatar identity upon peculiar “high culture”, or rather, upon producing and reproducing ethnically-specific knowledge. Even further to the periphery is the strategy of boundary-contraction, advocated most famously in Tatarstan by National Congress of the Tatar People (Tatar: *Tatar Khalkıning Milli Mäclese*)⁴⁰⁵, a Tatar nationalist organization led by Fəüziyə Bəyrəmovə⁴⁰⁶. According to this strategy, ethnic Tatars should maintain strict cultural and social boundaries from ethnic Russians, who

⁴⁰³ The strategy of boundary-contraction aims at promoting narrower, more stringent boundaries than those already established in the social landscape (Wimmer 2008, 987).

⁴⁰⁴ Damir İskhakov, “The End of the ‘Fourth Tatar Revolution’,” [in Russian] *Biznes Online*, <https://www.business-gazeta.ru/article/366490> (accessed December 31, 2017).

⁴⁰⁵ The organization’s predecessor is *İttifak Firkəse*, “Solidarity Party,” active in the early 1990s.

⁴⁰⁶ Nicknamed by some in Tatarstan as “Grandma of Tatar nationalism.”

are portrayed as “colonizers” or “occupiers” of Tatarstan⁴⁰⁷, and strengthen their ties with other Turkic-speaking, Muslim populations.

Representation of Tatar elites in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the Republic of Tatarstan

Ethnic Tatar elites’ collusive relations with central-state elites, overall positive perceptions of Tatarstan among Moscow-based central-state elites, and relatively high level of intra-Tatar cohesion in Tatarstan have been jointly sufficient for the persistent pattern of ethnic Tatar elites’ overrepresentation in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the RT.

When the central-state in Moscow was relatively weak both financially and discursively, intra-Tatar cohesion bolstered incumbent Tatar elites’ mobilizational capacity. In the 1990s, taking advantage of the fledgling federal government, Tatarstan attained more autonomy not only in terms of institution building but also in terms of their economic assets (Sharafutdinova 2010, 74) by means of mobilizing and co-opting ethno-national movements, declaring “sovereignty” by following what Boris Yeltsin did to the Soviet Union, while negotiating bilateral treaties with the federal government. For instance, by the end of 1980s, TASSR state authority owned only 2% of all the SOEs within its boundary, while 80% of them were controlled by USSR ministries and 18% by RSFSR ministries. However, by 1994, 65% of those SOEs had come under the control of the RT government (74-75). Moreover, throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, RT was able to

⁴⁰⁷ Anonymous interviews conducted on March 30, April 27, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

follow the “soft entry into market” approach that entailed preserving subsidies in major agricultural and manufacturing sectors, maintaining some level of control over prices, and delaying the process of privatization (76). Moderate processes of marketization in Tatarstan laid the foundation for its more pronounced developmental outcome while solidifying the support base for RT’s incumbent elites.

As the central-state in Moscow has been growing relatively strong both financially and discursively, collusive elite-level relations and central-state’s positive perception of Tatarstan have been conducive to heightened representation of ethnic Tatar elites. Despite Vladimir Putin’s extensive measures to strengthen the central-state vis-à-vis RF’s constituent entities since his coming to power, collusive relations between the Putin-led central-state elites and the Kazan-based ethnic Tatar elites and the perception of Tatarstan as an “economically prosperous ethno-region” guaranteed continued overrepresentation of incumbent ethnic Tatar elites in the state organs and their most powerful positions of RT. As incumbent Tatar elites are perceived more as “important allies” of the central state than as its “fungible agents,” their overrepresentation has translated into immense decision-making power at the ethno-regional level⁴⁰⁸.

Under the Soviet Union, as knowledge of the Russian language became increasingly universalized among ethnic Tatars of TASSR and with continued training and promotion of ethnic Tatar cadres after the second World War, representation of ethnic Tatars in the ethno-regional state authority of TASSR largely shifted⁴⁰⁹ from underrepresentation to overrepresentation during Nikita Khrushchev’s term⁴¹⁰ as the First Secretary of the

⁴⁰⁸ Anonymous interviews conducted on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

⁴⁰⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted on April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

⁴¹⁰ 1953-1964.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since Zinnät Moratov's tenure⁴¹¹ as the first ethnic Tatar secretary of the TASSR oblast'-level⁴¹² committee of the CPSU, the proportion of ethnic Tatar cadres in the TASSR state organs had been rising steadily⁴¹³, especially during Fikrät Tabiev's tenure as TASSR oblast'-level committee's first secretary⁴¹⁴. According to the 1989 census, 56% of the cadres in the TASSR state organs were ethnic Tatars, a higher percentage than the proportion of ethnic Tatars in the total population of the republic of that time (Gorenburg 2003, 47). As of 1990, the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet was 58% Tatar (47). A majority of ethnic Tatar elites during the Soviet period hailed from the counties (Tatar: *rayonnar*) or villages (Tatar: *awıllar*)⁴¹⁵. Ethnic Russian cadres tended to be more visible in military and technological sectors, while ethnic Tatar cadres tended to be more visible in medical and media sectors⁴¹⁶.

The pattern of titular overrepresentation in the republic-level state organs persists into the 2010s. For instance, as of 2016, out of the 100 deputies in the State Council of RT, 64 were ethnic Tatars, thus constituting a majority. As of 2016, most of the top positions of RT are filled by ethnic Tatars with decision-making powers, including the chairman of the State Council of RT, Färit Mökhämmätshin, the president of RT, Röstäm Mingnekhanov, the state counsellor of RT, Mintimer Shäimiev⁴¹⁷, the prime minister of RT, İldar Khalikov⁴¹⁸, the chairman of the supreme court of RT, İlğiz Gilazov, the

⁴¹¹ 1944-1957, available at <http://www.tassr90.ru/leaders/muratov> (accessed February 28, 2017).

⁴¹² Republic-level.

⁴¹³ Anonymous interview conducted in Kazan on May 17, 2016.

⁴¹⁴ 1960-1979, available at <http://www.tassr90.ru/leaders/tabeev> (accessed February 28, 2017).

⁴¹⁵ Anonymous interviews conducted on April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

⁴¹⁶ Anonymous interviews conducted on April 15, April 27, May 17, and June 15, 2016.

⁴¹⁷ President of RT 1991-2010, elected President in 1991, 1996, 2001, 2005.

⁴¹⁸ Replaced by Aleksei Pesoshin, an ethnic Russian, in 2017.

chairman of the constitutional court of RT, Fərkhət Khösnetdinov, the mayor of Kazan, İlsur Metshin, and most of the ministers of the RT government.

To assess ethnic Tatar elites' level of representation in the RT ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions, I calculate and weight the quotients of the 2015 percentages of ethnic Tatar elites in the key posts of various ethno-regional state apparatuses divided by the 2010 percentage of the population of ethnic Tatars in the total population of RT.

Specifically, to operationalize the level of titular elites' representation in the most powerful positions of the ethno-regional state in Tatarstan, I propose and apply an instrument, taking into account the distribution of decision-making power across different state apparatuses. I base my understanding of how decision-making power is distributed across state apparatuses on what is stipulated in the Constitution of the RT and respondents' perceptions.

The largest weight, at 35%, is assigned to the key posts in the executive organs, including the Presidency of the RT, Prime minister of the RT, and the Cabinet of Ministers of the RT. The President of the RT is not only formally the head of the Tatarstani state but also wielding the most decision-making power⁴¹⁹ in terms of creating and directing the executive organ of the RT state, preparing state budgets (CRT 1992, Article 94), issuing administrative orders (Tatar/Russian: *ukaz*), making legislative proposals to the State Soviet of the RT, ensuring the implementation of the laws passed in the State Soviet and the administrative orders issued by the President, etc. The position of Prime minister (Tatar/Russian: *prem'er-ministr*) is formally designated in Tatarstan as the coordinator of

⁴¹⁹ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on March 30, April 15, April 27, May 12, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

the Cabinet of Ministers. Conventionally, RT's Prime minister is formally nominated by the President and approved by the State Soviet. The Cabinet of Ministers, consisting of usually 30-31 members such as the Prime minister, deputy prime ministers (Tatar: *prem'er-ministr urınbasarı*; Russian: *zamestitel' prem'er ministra*), ministers, and heads of other governmental agencies, has the authority to make legislative proposals to RT's State Soviet while being responsible for the formulation and implementation of specific policies⁴²⁰.

The second largest weight, at 25%, is assigned to the key posts in the legislative organ, including the leadership of the State Soviet of the RT and the chairs of the seven lawmaking committees (Tatar/Russian: *komitet*) of the State Soviet of the RT. This amount of weight is assigned in light of the prescriptive authority wielded by the State Soviet despite its lack of enforcement power. According to the RT Constitution, the State Soviet has the authority to adopt and to amend the Constitution of the RT, to enact laws outside the areas of jurisdictions solely wielded by the federal state, to interpret laws, to approve of RT state budgets, to determine whether to hold Presidential elections, legislative elections, and referendums, to approve of the prime minister nominated by the President of the RT, to approve of the State Counselor nominated by the President of the RT, as well as to hold no-confidence vote for those occupying the key positions in the executive organs (CRT 1992, Article 75).

A 20% weight is assigned to the leadership of the RT branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, since it is the major state apparatus that wields the

⁴²⁰ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, April 27, May 12, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

means of coercion in law enforcements of Tatarstan, even if its authority mostly rests in law-enforcing rather than decision-making. It is directly subordinate to the centralized command of the RF Ministry of Internal Affairs in Moscow, while maintaining a coordinative relationship with RT's state apparatuses⁴²¹. A 15% weight is assigned to the Public Prosecutor of the RT and to the heads of three courts, i.e. the RT Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court of RT, and the RT Arbitration Court. The RT Prosecutor's Office serves as the highest supervisory organ conducting investigation and prosecution in the realm of law enforcements. It is independent of the RT's own state organs while subordinate to the RF Prosecutor General's office in Moscow. The position of RT Prosecutor is filled by appointment from the federal-level office in consultation with the President and State Soviet of the RT (CRT 1992, Article 114). The Constitutional Court of RT is part of the ethno-regional state of Tatarstan, whose judges are nominated by the President of RT and the Chair of the State Soviet of RT (CRT 1992, Article 108). It is responsible for adjudicating compliance with the RT Constitution. The Supreme Court of RT is part of the federal judicial system, subordinate to the RF Supreme Court in Moscow (CRT 1992, Article 110). The Arbitration Court of RT applies laws in the realm of economic disputes while being subordinate to the RF Supreme Arbitration Court (CRT 1992, Article 112).

The smallest weight, at 5%, is assigned to the key posts at the RT ethno-regional branch of the UR party, the incumbent party of both the RT and the RF. Those occupying such positions can be influential in RT's presidential and legislative elections while bridging

⁴²¹ Administrative order N. 263 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, April 27, 2011.

the federal and the ethno-regional states through partisan links in addition to formal hierarchy between the federal and ethno-regional states⁴²², even if they do not wield decision-making power in these capacities.

Table 5.5. Ethnic Tatar elites' representation in the ethno-regional state of Tatarstan (2015)

	Number of those occupying the most powerful positions who are of the titular ethnic category (Tatar)	Number of all those occupying the most powerful positions	Representation-by-Population quotient ^a	Weight assigned
Executive organs	26 ^b	32	1.5	35%
Legislative organ	9	12	1.4	25%
Tatarstan-branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RF	4	7	1.1	20%
Judicial organs	3	4	1.4	15%
Tatarstan-branch of the UR party	6	10	1.1	5%

^a If the quotient is higher than 0 but no higher than 1, under-representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is 1, proportional representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is higher than 1 but no higher than 1.88, over-representation of titular elites is implied (given that ethnic Tatars' percentage in the total population of Tatarstan was 53.2% as of 2010).

^b Between 2010 and 2017, the prime-minister of RT was İldar Khalikov, an ethnic Tatar. Starting April 2017, the prime-minister of RT has been Aleksei Pesoshin, an ethnic Russian.

⁴²² Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 15, April 27, May 12, and May 17 of 2016.

Sources: President of the Republic of Tatarstan. <http://president.tatarstan.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017); The Cabinet of Ministers of RT. <http://prav.tatarstan.ru/pravit.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); Committees of the State Soviet of the RT. <http://tat.gossov.tatarstan.ru/komitet> (accessed July 31, 2017); Deputies of the State Soviet of the RT. <http://tat.gossov.tatarstan.ru/deputaty> (accessed July 31, 2017); Tatarstan-Branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation: Leadership of the Ministry. <http://mvd.tatarstan.ru/rus/rukov.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); Current composition of judges for the Constitutional Court of RT. <http://ks.tatarstan.ru/rus/structure/judge.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); Leadership of the Supreme Court of RT. http://vs.tat.sudrf.ru/modules.php?name=info_court&rid=7 (accessed July 31, 2017); Presidium of the RT Regional Political Soviet of the UR. <http://tatarstan.er.ru/persons/presidium> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Table 5.6. Those occupying the most powerful positions at the ethno-regional state of the RT (2010-present)

	Position	Person occupying that position	Ethnicity	Tenure
Executive organs	President	Röstəm Mingnekhānov	Tatar	2010-
	Prime minister	İldar Khalikov	Tatar	2010-2017
		Aleksei Pesoshin	Russian	2017-
Legislative organ	Chair of the State Soviet	Fərit Mökhəmmətshin	Tatar	1998-
Coercive organ	Minister of the Internal Affairs (Tatarstan-branch)	Əsgat Səfərov	Tatar	1998-2012
		Artem Khokhorin	Russian	2012-
Judiciary	Chair of the Constitutional Court	Viktor Demidov	Russian	2004-2014
		Fərkhət Khösnetdinov	Tatar	2014-
	Chair of the Supreme Court	Gennady Baranov	Russian	1985-2011
		İlgiz Gilazov	Tatar	2011-
	Prosecutor	Kafil Amirov	Tatar	2000-2013
		İldus Nafikov	Tatar	2013-

Incumbent party apparatus	Secretary of the Presidium of the RT Regional Political Soviet of the UR party	Fərit Mökhəmmətshin	Tatar	As of 2016
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Sources: President of the Republic of Tatarstan. <http://president.tatarstan.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017); The Cabinet of Ministers of RT. <http://prav.tatarstan.ru/pravit.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); Deputies of the State Soviet of the RT. <http://tat.gossov.tatarstan.ru/deputaty> (accessed July 31, 2017); Tatarstan-Branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation: Leadership of the Ministry. <http://mvd.tatarstan.ru/rus/rukov.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); Current composition of judges for the Constitutional Court of RT. <http://ks.tatarstan.ru/rus/structure/judge.htm> (accessed July 31, 2017); Leadership of the Supreme Court of RT. http://vs.tat.sudrf.ru/modules.php?name=info_court&rid=7 (accessed July 31, 2017); The Prosecutor's Office of the RT. <http://www.prokrt.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017); Presidium of the RT Regional Political Soviet of the UR. <http://tatarstan.er.ru/persons/presidium> (accessed July 31, 2017).

The weighted representation-by-population quotient for ethnic Tatar elites in Tatarstan as of 2015 is 1.36, which is higher than 1 and signifies overrepresentation of ethnic Tatar elites in the RT ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions. Moreover, at the legislative organ of RT, State Soviet, ethnic Tatars have consistently been overrepresented in the total number of deputies there since the early 1990s. At the State Soviet's 1st convocation (Russian: *sozyv*; Tatar: *chakırılısh*) between 1995 and 1999, 92 deputies out of 130 were ethnic Tatar (70.8%). At its 2nd convocation between 1999 and 2004, 80 deputies out of 104 were ethnic Tatar (76.9%). At its 3rd convocation between 2004 and 2009, 64 deputies out of 100 were ethnic Tatar (64%). At its 4th convocation between 2009 and 2014, 65 deputies out of 107 were ethnic Tatar (60.7%). Overall, as summarized in Table 5.6., of the thirteen individuals who once occupied or still occupy the most powerful positions of RT from 2010 to 2017, nine are ethnic Tatars, thus making up the majority and overrepresented in relation to the population share of ethnic Tatars in the total population of RT.

SUMMARY: HIGHER INTEGRATION, HIGHER AUTONOMY

Proportionate titular control of the ethno-regional state is a defining attribute of autonomy, a necessary condition for autonomy implementation, and a property unique to autonomy as implemented. In the case of Tatarstan, higher level of Tatar-Russian social integration, when combined with robust consciousness of Tatar-Russian distinction, has been conducive to building ethnic Tatar elites' bargaining capacity with Moscow and to intra-Tatar cohesion. As a result, ethnic Tatar elites have been persistently overrepresented in the RT ethno-regional state organs and their most powerful positions, and titular control of the ethno-regional state is not only present but also heightened in Tatarstan. Predicated upon the high level of titular representation in the ethno-regional state, RT's ability to implement prescribed autonomy has been strengthened, which has led to more pronounced autonomy outcome for Tatarstan. Overall, as the experiences of autonomy-building in Tatarstan illustrates, a balance between inter-ethnic integration and inter-ethnic differentiation is empirically possible. Inter-ethnic integration can be conducive, rather than detrimental, to the building of titular elites' bargaining capacity and to the long-term autonomy-building in terms of titular political participation, ethno-regional economic development, and titular cultural promotion in an ethno-region.

6. INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES, OTHER ETHNO-REGIONS IN CHINA AND RUSSIA

In the first section of this chapter, I summarily investigate institutional constraints upon and opportunities for titular elites' bargaining capacity in terms of two condition variables that vary at the national level, i.e. formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations, with a focus upon ethno-federalism in Russia and Leninist⁴²³ party-state relations in China. The second section tests whether the argument can travel to the study of other ethno-regions in China and Russia. I succinctly evaluate the applicability of my argument to explaining the autonomy outcomes in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (NMAR) and Tibet Autonomous Region (Xizang, XAR) of China as well as in the Republic of Bashkortostan (RB) and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia, RS) of Russia.

INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Federal versus unitary structure of center-periphery relations

Formal arrangement of center-periphery relations is associated with formally federal or unitary structures governing the relationship between the central state and various ethno-

⁴²³ Connoting a vanguard party that monopolizes the control of state apparatuses.

regions and is examined on two dimensions, political federalism or not and fiscal federalism or not. This variable varies significantly at the national level, as China follows a constitutionally unitary structure, while Russia follows a constitutionally federated structure. Meanwhile, both China and Russia have been practicing fiscal federalism.

In a politically unitary system, authority, or rather the normative right to exercise political power, is constitutionally vested in the central-state and must be specifically delegated to ethno-regional-level states from the central-state. Put otherwise, various ethno-regions in a unitary structure are essentially extensions of the central-state, even though they are also formally designated to practice autonomy in specifically-defined areas of jurisdictions. By contrast, a politically federal system entails an institutionalized division of authority between the central-state and the constituent-level states, wherein each level of state wields decision-making power in specifically-defined areas of jurisdictions but cannot unilaterally alter the federated structure of center-periphery relations (Amoretti 2004, 9). Ethno-federalism is a subtype of federal system. What distinguishes ethno-federalism from other subtypes is that at least one constituent unit of the federation is formally associated with a specific ethnic category.

In the early 1990s, many of the constituent units of the Russian Federation pushed for a more contractually-based federal system. In response to such demands from the periphery, the RF central-state installed presidential representatives at all of the constituent units. Executive heads of ethnic republics were designated as “presidents,” and executive heads of *oblast*’ and *krai* were designated as “governors”⁴²⁴. Moreover, a

⁴²⁴ Russian: *gubernator*.

set of federative agreements and a series of bilateral treaties were reached between the RF central-state and fewer than fifty constituent units of RF (Stoner-Weiss 2004, 308).

Three conditions were enumerated by Kathryn Stoner-Weiss to contextualize constituent units' more aggressive gesture towards the federal government in the early 1990s: introduction of competitive elections at the republic/oblast' level, the interests of periphery elites in attaining greater discretion in terms of using local natural resources and in averting extreme centralization similar to that during the Soviet period, and the interests of Soviet-period *nomenklatura* elites who remained in power after the dissolution of the USSR in protecting their locally-based privileges despite democratization and marketization reforms (308).

The 1992 federative agreements signed between Moscow and various ethnic republics, oblast', krai, and AOKs were meant for demarcating which areas were to be under the jurisdiction of Moscow, which areas were to be under shared responsibilities, and which areas were to be exclusively under the jurisdiction of the constituent units (311). Notably, Tatarstan and Chechnya did not sign the federative agreements, whereas Bashkortostan and Yakutia demanded more privileges to be included in the agreements with regard to foreign trade and natural resources (312). The bilateral treaties signed between Moscow and various constituent units were rife with contradictions with the constitution of the RF and federal laws (314-317). With the rise to power of Vladimir Putin, seven⁴²⁵ federal districts were created in 2000, each of which includes a number of constituent entities (republics, oblast', krai, AOKs, etc.) and has an administrative center. To each of these

⁴²⁵ Central, Southern, Northwestern, Volga, Ural, Siberia, Far East.

districts, a presidential representative is appointed. In 2010, an eighth district, the North Caucasus Federal District, was added.

Formal institutional contexts with overlapping jurisdictions can provide opportunities for actors to adjust discrete portions of formal institutions (Tsai 2007, 38). Under certain circumstances, institutions can even provide positive models for how to do something (Clemens and Cook 1999, 445-446). For ethnic Tatar elites, the institutions of ethno-federalism (Hale 2004, 167-168) have been furnishing more opportunities than constraints. The outburst of ethno-national mobilizations in USSR eventually brought about its dissolution when its core republic, RSFSR, declared its own independence. In response to growing ethno-national mobilizations in Tatarstan and the transitioning central state in Moscow, the *nomenklatura* Tatar elites led the “parade of sovereignties” (Graney 2009, xx) in 1990, joined by many other ethnic republics in Russia. This compelled Moscow to seriously accommodate ethnic minority elites’ concerns by establishing an ethnically-based federal system. This version of ethno-federalism, despite Putin’s subsequent attempts to curtail republic-level privileges (e.g. tax benefits), promulgates as a norm the sharing of authority (Russian: *polnomochiye*) between Moscow and various ethnic republics, Tatarstan in particular.

Over time, RT has not only established itself as the major champion of ethno-federalism but also attained the most political, economic, and cultural autonomy (as prescriptive institution) of all the ethnic republics, as is demonstrated in the Treaty RFRT renewed in 2007 where both sides agreed to share political authority while recognizing RT’s “peculiarities (Russian: *osobennosti*)” within the RF. Even Putin’s centralization reform in the 2000s had to confine itself within the normative frame of ethno-federalism, and RT

repeatedly used the very principle of federalism to negotiate with Moscow for recognition of its uniquely autonomous status within Russia, especially with regard to the formal status of the Tatar language. For instance, when a Tatarstani ethnic Russian resident appealed to the RF Constitutional Court in 2002, challenging the constitutionality of the provisions of RT's *Law on the State Languages of the Republic of Tatarstan and Other Languages in the Republic of Tatarstan* that stipulates the mandatory teaching of both Tatar and Russian in equal amount of hours while arguing that RT is not a sovereign state, the Court found that required study of both Tatar and Russian does not contradict the RF constitution (Cashaback 2008, 270). Instead, such requirement, according to the Court rulings, agrees with the federal principles honoring the "national education" system. In this sense, the federal court upheld the official status of Tatar in Tatarstan (270). Overall, for ethno-regions with relatively strong bargaining capacity for titular elites and higher autonomy outcome, political federalism may provide the institutional framework for negotiations with the central-state over more prerogatives for the ethno-region or concessions from the central-state.

Fiscal federalism, on the other hand, pertains to how different levels of state should relate to one another in terms of their revenues and expenditures. Concretely, certain areas of earnings or spendings are centralized, in which either the periphery is required to turn over certain portions of its revenue to the center or the center needs to subsidize the periphery, while other areas are decentralized, in which the periphery is allowed to keep the surplus of its revenue. With regard to ethno-regions, the institutional order of fiscal federalism allows ethno-regions with strong fiscal capacity to further develop such capacity while also contributing to the bursars of both the central-state and themselves.

On the other hand, fiscal federalism also allows the central-state to help ethno-regions with very limited fiscal capacity finance themselves and improve their long-term fiscal capacity.

Since the early 1980s, a fiscal revenue-sharing system between two adjacent levels of state has been incrementally established (Montinola et al. 1995, 63) in China. Such a fiscal federalism features the “fiscal contracting system” (Jin et al. 2005, 1729). It consists of four components, i.e. central-state’s fixed revenue reliant upon tariffs and profits of central-state-supervised SOEs, the local revenue divided between the central and provincial-level states according to pre-determined sharing schemes, extra remittance from provincial-level states to the central-state, and additional transfer payments from the central-state to the provincial-level states (1731-1733). The necessity of fiscal transfers between different levels of governments became even more salient, as the gaps in terms of fiscal capacity across different provincial-level units were exacerbated by their participation in both the domestic and world markets (Sheng 2010, 2).

Russia’s fiscal decentralization processes followed a more tumultuous trajectory.

Throughout the 1990s, such processes were characterized by a lack of formal, coherent, consistent institutions, which was further complicated by the variety of bilateral arrangements reached between the federal government and constituent entities.

Moreover, substantial political manipulation and pressure in terms of equalizing transfers across constituent entities, constituent entities’ soft budget constraint, weak incentives for building up fiscal capacity, and very few constraints for sub-national borrowing (Human Development Sector Unit 2011, 7) also hampered the institutionalization of fiscal federalism in Russia.

The 2000 legislation of the RF Budget Codex⁴²⁶ was an important step in terms of institutionalizing fiscal federalism in Russia by providing more explicit assignment of revenues and expenditures across different levels of the state (8). In 2003, the division of budgetary income between the central-state and constituent entities was set at largely 70% for the central-state and 30% for each of the constituent entities⁴²⁷. Meanwhile, transfers from the central-state to the constituent entities grow steadily. For instance, from 2006 through 2009, approximately one third of federal budget expenditures are allocated to transfers. In general, the transfers from the federal budget can be classified into two broad types: transfers to regions with the aim of equalizing regional differences and transfers to special funds (8). Throughout the 2010s, equalization grants and subsidies dominate the structure of inter-budgetary transfers (Russian: *mezhyudzhethnie transferty*). Such grants are intended to mitigate the gaps in fiscal capacity across constituent entities. In certain constituent units concentrated in North Caucasus, Siberia, and Far East, equalization grants from Moscow may cover over 50% of their budgets (11). Meanwhile, constituent entities such as Khanty-Mansi AOk, City of Moscow, Yamalo-Nenets AOk, City of Sankt Petersburg, and Tatarstan are among those which have been contributing the most to the federal budget. Even after equalization efforts, significant differences across constituent units in terms of fiscal capacity remain, and fiscal allocations vary inversely with fiscal capacity and directly with fiscal needs, which

⁴²⁶ Russian: *byudzhethnyi kodeks Rossiskoi Federatsii*.

⁴²⁷ Boris Vishnevskii, "All power belongs to me! How the federal government has been engaged in the budgetary tug of war," [in Russian] *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, September 3, 2002.

sometimes draws the ire of such constituent entities with strong fiscal capacity as Tatarstan⁴²⁸.

For ethno-regions in China and Russia with relatively weak bargaining capacity for titular elites and lower autonomy outcome, fiscal transfers may have the potential of perpetuating their financial reliance upon the center and hampering the building their fiscal capacity. For example, the proportion of Xinjiang's budgeted expenditures covered by the ethno-region's own budgeted tax or non-tax-based revenues never surpassed 50% in the first six years of the 2010s⁴²⁹, and comparable financial reliance upon the central-state also applies to Tibet (Xizang)⁴³⁰. For ethno-regions with relatively strong bargaining capacity for titular elites and higher autonomy outcome, fiscal transfers may provide opportunities for the ethno-region to catch up in terms of its economic productivity if it remains a recipient region. For example, the proportion of Inner Mongolia's budgeted expenditures covered by the ethno-region's own budgeted tax or non-tax-based revenues was on average around 79% for the first six years of the 2010s⁴³¹. Meanwhile, budgeted transfer payments from the PRC central-state to Inner Mongolia have been rising from ¥ 159.490 billion for 2015, to ¥ 213.558 billion for 2016, and to ¥ 234.689 billion for 2017⁴³². Fiscal federalism may also prompt an ethno-region to bargain for additional financial transfers or investments if it is a donor region, though very few ethno-regions in

⁴²⁸ Anonymous interviews conducted in Kazan on April 27, May 17, and June 15 of 2016.

⁴²⁹ Statistical Bureau of the XUAR, *2016 Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook* [in Chinese].

⁴³⁰ China Statistics Press, *2016 Xizang Statistical Yearbook* [in Chinese].

⁴³¹ NMAP Bureau of Statistics [in Chinese], available at <http://www.nmgtj.gov.cn/acmrdatashownmgpub/index.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017).

⁴³² "Integrated table of budgeted fiscal returns and transfer payments from the central government to provincial-level units," [in Chinese] available at http://yss.mof.gov.cn/2015czys/201503/t20150324_1206398.html (accessed December 31, 2017).

China and Russia would be classified as donor regions except such resource-rich ethno-regions as Khanty-Mansi AOk, Yamalo-Nenets AOk, Tatarstan, etc. For example, to host the 2013 Summer Universiade and the 2015 FINA World Aquatics Championships, Tatarstan was able to obtain enormous funds from the RF federal government.

Party-state relations

Formal arrangement of party-state relations pertains to whether the governmental apparatus at the ethno-regional level is formally designed to be subordinate to an incumbent political party directed from the central-state level in terms of personnel, decision-making, and ideology. Party-state relations are highly relevant to an ethno-region's autonomy building, as such institutional arrangements can exert formal constraints upon who are supposed to access the government of the ethno-region as well as who are expected to wield the most decision-making power in actual governance. This variable varies significantly at the national level, as China features a Leninist party to which state apparatuses are subordinate, while Russia features a combination of both competitive elections and an incumbent, "catch-all" party that has been in power for almost two decades.

In China, governmental apparatuses of all levels and the armed forces are formally subordinate to the incumbent political party directed from Beijing, Chinese Communist Party. The 2004 PRC Constitution, in its Article 1, Chapter I, defines the People's Republic of China as a "socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by

the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants,”⁴³³ which essentially stipulates first and foremost CCP’s formal role in terms of leading the state, since CCP positions itself as the “vanguards” of the working class (CCPC 2017, Preamble). CCP leads and controls the PRC state organs by means of cadre recruitment and their placement in party branches which are supposed to monitor and control state apparatuses, social organizations, enterprises, etc. (CCPC 2017, Preamble). CCP maintains a hierarchy of its branches at the central-state, provincial-level, prefectural-level, county-level, and grass-roots level (CCPC 2017, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 9, 10). CCP’s supreme authority is placed nominally in its national congress, but party affairs are governed and supervised by the central committee of CCP when the national congress is not in session (CCPC 2017, Chapter 3). Most importantly, in conformity with the principle of democratic centrism (CCPC 2017, Preamble), decision-making power within CCP is vested in a collectivity of leaders who occupy the top positions in CCP’s Politburo and its Standing Committee (CCPC 2017, Chapter 3). Meanwhile, provincial-level (or autonomous-region-level) CCP committee oversees the organization and control of lower-level party-state apparatuses, economic productions, infrastructure, mobilization of societal forces such as women and youth, and so forth (CCPC 2017, Chapters 4, 5, 9, 10).

Formal institutions can limit the range of officially permissible behaviors (Tsai 2007, 38). An important source of such institutional constraints upon titular elites’ agency in Xinjiang may derive from CCP’s monopolization of state power, access to state power, as

⁴³³ The NPC of PRC, Constitution of the PRC [in Chinese], available at http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/2007-11/15/content_1372963.htm (accessed December 31, 2017).

well as ideologies justifying the one-party rule (Huntington 1991, 580). Monopolization of state power corresponds to the principle of “political leadership”⁴³⁴ in CCP’s official terminology, while monopolization of the access to state power and of ideologies correspond respectively to the principles of “organizational leadership”⁴³⁵ and “ideational leadership.”⁴³⁶ According to these principles, XUAR state organs are subordinate to the leadership of CCP in three institutionalized manners. Although rules and regulations, policies and decisions are formulated and implemented by the state organs, the party has the final say in terms of what can be formulated and how it will be implemented. Similar to the *nomenklatura* system in the former Soviet Union, the party determines who can and will fill the most powerful positions in various state organs, and such people are usually members of the party. In the meantime, the party establishes organizational branches at all levels of state organs while formulating and controlling what ideas or ideologies can be made official and vigorously propagated.

Table 6.1. Representation of party cadres of nine ethnic minority categories in the 18th and 19th CCP National Congresses

	Ethnic Mongol	Ethnic Hui	Ethnic Tibetan	Ethnic Uyghur	Ethnic Miao	Ethnic Yi	Ethnic Zhuang	Ethnic Korean	Ethnic Kazakh
Population weight of the ethnic category in the total population of PRC (2010)	0.45%	0.79%	0.47%	0.76%	0.71%	0.65%	1.27%	0.14%	0.11%

⁴³⁴ Chinese: *zhengzhi lingdao*. See People’s Daily Encyclopaedia of CCP History, “The leadership roles of the Chinese Communist Party,” [in Chinese] People’s Daily, <http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/165617/173273/10415394.html> (accessed 28 February 2017).

⁴³⁵ Chinese: *zuzhi lingdao*.

⁴³⁶ Chinese: *sixiang lingdao*.

Degree of representation in the 18 th CCP National Congress (2012)	1.2%	1.7%	1.3%	0.53%	0.4%	0.35%	0.75%	0.22%	0.13%
Degree of representation in the 19 th CCP National Congress (2017)	0.92%	1.7%	1.4%	0.57%	0.57%	0.35%	0.79%	0.4%	0.17%
Assessment	Over-represented _a	Over-represented	Over-represented _b	Under-represented _c	Under-represented	Under-represented	Under-represented	Over-represented	Over-represented

^{a b c} The overrepresentation of ethnic Mongol and Tibetan delegates is in part related to the more geographically dispersed residential patterns of ethnic Mongols and Tibetans in China. Accordingly, ethnic Mongol and Tibetan delegates were drawn not only from NMAR or XAR but also from Hebei, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Sichuan, Yunnan, Qinghai, Gansu, XUAR, etc. Moreover, ethnic Mongol and Tibetan delegates were also more represented in the delegations of the central-state-level party-state apparatuses, People's Armed Police (PAP), and PLA. Ethnic Uyghur delegates were drawn from XUAR and PLA.

Sources: List of the delegates to the 19th CCP National Congress. http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2017-09/29/c_1121747855.htm (accessed December 31, 2017); List of the delegates to the 18th CCP National Congress. <http://news.cntv.cn/special/18ddbxi/mingdan/index.shtml> (accessed December 31, 2017).

In this sense, Uyghur elites' capacity to influence policy making and implementing can hinge greatly upon their standings and networks within CCP. Considering that ethnic Uyghur elites are still underrepresented in the CCP ranks (Table 6.1.) and that their assignment of duties is determined by mostly ethnic Han Chinese party members of higher ranks, Uyghur political elites in Xinjiang can be held accountable by the party⁴³⁷ rather than by the populace. Thus, it is not surprising that Uyghur political elites in Xinjiang seldom voice significant objections within the party with regard to policy formulations or implementations, perhaps either because they supported the move or because they believed that their dissenting views would backlash against their own

⁴³⁷ One of the respondents, who can be classified as an "ethnic cadre," told the author that all a cadre is supposed to do is to fulfil whatever task the party has assigned to the person.

standings in the party. Had Uyghur elites been more represented and more able to build horizontally collusive coalitions across ethnic lines in the party, some of their dissenting views, if there are any, would have more chances of having an impact upon policy formulations or implementations. In that scenario, subordination to the incumbent political party might be turned into more an institutional opportunity than constraint.

As argued by Yumin Sheng, centralized incumbent political parties such as CCP may actually be conducive to fiscal extraction from economically more developed provincial-level units to those less developed ones for interregional redistribution (2010, 4), since central-state leaders in the face of fissiparous challenges of economic openness and marketization may resort to exercising tighter political control over the personnel at the government of economically more prosperous provincial-level units in order to ensure the extraction of revenue, to redress cross-regional disparity, and to bolster the legitimacy of the incumbent party's rule (4). This may somehow provide opportunities for economically lagging-behind ethno-regions to rely upon financing from the central-state to facilitate investments in infrastructure, physical capital, human capital, to provide social protection, and even to achieve a "late developer miracle" in terms of GDP per capita, as manifested in the example of Inner Mongolia of China.

In Russia, governmental apparatus at different levels of state is by no means formally subordinate to an incumbent political party. Competitive legislative and presidential elections are held in Russia, wherein a variety of political parties participate. However, the incumbent United Russia (UR) party has been in power since the legislative election in 2003 and the presidential election in 2004, and there has not been change of incumbent party yet. The UR party has thus far constituted itself as an effective "electoral vehicle"

(Golosov 2004, 29-30) for the expansion and consolidation of Vladimir Putin's presidential power by providing the executive organs of the RF federal government with certain levels of legislative support in the RF Federal Assembly (29-30). UR has long dominated the State Duma, the lower chamber of the RF Federal Assembly, while maintaining party branches in each of Russia's constituent entities (Konitzer and Wegren 2006, 504).

UR's dominant status can be attributed to the growing fiscal capacity of Moscow that significantly altered budgetary flows (511), changes to electoral laws requiring a portion of the ethno-regional legislatures to be elected through proportional representation (512) resulting in powerful UR blocs at the ethno-regional level (512-514), and support from rural-based voters (514-517). Elections can be engineered by incumbent UR elites through such formal or informal mechanisms as candidate-filtering, providing pro-regime candidates with campaigning advantages, creating obstacles for opposition candidates to mobilize support, purposefully adjusting rules, borders, or thresholds, installing "virtual" parties that pretend to diversify voices, and ballotbox fraud or indirect elections (Petrov et al. 2014, 4).

The expansion and consolidation of UR party structures in the constituent entities of RF, in particular, prompted titular political elites of various ethno-regions to align with UR in order to maintain a fuller use of their administrative resources, to appropriate support from their ethno-region's UR party structures, and to rely on additional support through federally-maintained infrastructures and media outlets (509). Examples of powerful political elites of titular categories of ethno-regions joining the UR party abound: the former president of Tatarstan, Mintimer Shaimiev, the incumbent president of Tatarstan,

Röstəm Mingnekhanov, the former president of Bashkortostan, Mortaza Rəkhimov, the incumbent president of Bashkortostan, Röstəm Khəmitov, the incumbent president of Yakutia, Yegor Borisov, etc.

In sum, for ethno-regions with relatively weak bargaining capacity for titular elites and lower autonomy outcome, a Leninist party like CCP may constitute an institutional constraint. For ethno-regions with relatively strong bargaining capacity for titular elites and higher autonomy outcome, an overarching party may provide opportunities for titular elites' coalition-buildings and fast-track promotions⁴³⁸, amplifying the impact of titular elites' bargaining capacity upon actually exercised autonomy outcome.

EXTENDING THE ARGUMENT TO MORE ETHNO-REGIONS

This section succinctly tests the ability of my argument to explain or to predict autonomy as implemented outcome in four other ethno-regions, i.e. Tibet Autonomous Region (Chinese: *Xizang*, XAR) and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (Chinese: *Neimenggu*, or Nei Mongol, NMAR) of China as well as Republic of Bashkortostan (RB) and Republic of Sakha (Yakutia, RS) of Russia. These four ethno-regions are selected not out of the principle of “most similar” cases, but rather in light of their distinctive demographic, geographic, or historical significances. Accordingly, I am not conducting a controlled comparison of these ethno-regions in addition to Xinjiang and Tatarstan. Instead, I use the congruence method (George and Bennett 2005, 181-204). Concretely, for each of the four ethno-regions, I first assess the value of the explanatory variable, or

⁴³⁸ For instance, Yang Jing, an ethnic Mongol cadre from Inner Mongolia, was promoted from the chair of NMAR eventually to the secretary of the PRC State Council.

rather, level of inter-ethnic integration, then proceed to asking what prediction about the value of the intervening variable, or rather, titular elites' capacity, should follow according to my argument (181). Then I proceed to asking what prediction about the value of the response variable, or rather, autonomy as implemented outcome, should follow according to my argument (181). If the empirically observed values in terms of an ethno-region's titular elites' capacity and autonomy as implemented outcome are consistent with my argument's predictions, then a possibility of causal link between inter-ethnic boundary makings and implemented autonomy outcome in various ethno-regions can be more strongly asserted. If the argument travels neatly to more ethno-regions based upon deductions, it can also be contended that my argument possesses ample explanatory potential in terms of accounting for varying autonomy outcomes of different ethno-regions. Nevertheless, although such preliminary congruity between observed and predicted outcomes would need to be further substantiated with tracing the process of how the explanatory variable leads to the response variable, I will save process-tracing in the four shadow cases for future research, as that may require data-gathering fieldwork.

China: Inter-ethnic relations, titular elites, and autonomy outcomes in Inner Mongolia and Tibet

Nei Mongol Autonomous Region (NMAR, or Inner Mongolia) is the first ethnic territorially-based autonomous entity established under CCP. It also has the distinction of being the provincial-level ethno-region in China persistently with the lowest

percentage⁴³⁹ of its titular ethnic population in the total population of the ethno-region. Meanwhile, ethnic Han have been constituting the absolute majority of the ethno-regional population since the expansion of NMAR in the 1950s from initially western Manchuria into its present-day territorial shape. NMAR has also gained fame by being the only provincial-level administrative unit in PRC where individuals from three generations of one family⁴⁴⁰ have served discontinuously as the chair of the ethno-regional government. Moreover, prior to the 2018 annual session of the PRC National People's Congress, CCP general secretary Xi Jinping was "elected"⁴⁴¹ a representative of NMAR to the annual NPC convention in Beijing, which was covered in numerous media outlets.

According to the 2010 population census, of the total population categorized as ethnic Mongols in China, 70.7% were residing in NMAR, among whom at least 13.7%⁴⁴² would claim a Sinitic dialect⁴⁴³ as their mother tongue while having no knowledge of either various Mongolic dialects or the Huihu (ancient Uyghur) script⁴⁴⁴. Meanwhile, 20.1% of the total population of ethnic Mongols in China as of 2010 were concentrated in the provinces (municipalities) of Liaoning (11%), Hebei (3%), Jilin (2.4%), Heilongjiang (2.1%), and Beijing (1.3%). Ethnic Mongols in these provinces/municipalities were either bilingual in both Sinitic and Mongolic dialects⁴⁴⁵ or monolingual in a Sinitic dialect.

⁴³⁹ The percentage has never surpassed 20% since the ethnic classification in the 1940s and 1950s.

⁴⁴⁰ Wulanfu (Uilaaxüü, Yun Ze), Buhe (Büxee), and Bu Xiaolin from the Yun family.

⁴⁴¹ "Why Xi Jinping decided to run for election in Nei Mongol? Let's listen to his justifications," [in Chinese] *Xinhuanet*, http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2018lh/2018-03/06/c_1122493442.htm (accessed March 6, 2018).

⁴⁴² Summing up the populations of ethnic Mongols in county-level administrative units where they traditionally know and use only Sinitic dialects.

⁴⁴³ Such as Northeastern Mandarin, Jin, Beijing Mandarin, etc.

⁴⁴⁴ A vertically, alphabetically-based writing system that traces its origin to Sogdian, Syriac, and Aramaic alphabets.

⁴⁴⁵ Mostly the Khorchin and Kharchin dialects.

Xizang Autonomous Region (XAR, or Tibet in a narrow sense) is the “youngest” provincial-level ethnic territorially-based autonomous entity established in PRC. It also has the distinction of being the provincial-level ethno-region in China persistently with the highest percentage⁴⁴⁶ of its titular ethnic population in the total population of the ethno-region. Moreover, it continues to be the provincial-level ethno-region in China with the smallest population. According to the 2010 population census, of the total population categorized as ethnic Tibetans in China, only 43.3% were residents in XAR, with the remaining 57.7% residing mostly in the provinces of Sichuan (23.8%), Qinghai (21.9%), Gansu (7.8%), and Yunnan (2.3%). Ethnic Tibetans living in the provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan who have graduated from senior high schools are usually bilingual in Tibetic⁴⁴⁷/Qiangic⁴⁴⁸ and Sinitic⁴⁴⁹ dialects, since the language of instruction in schools for ethnic Tibetans in Sichuan and Yunnan has primarily been Mandarin Chinese.

Calculated according to the instrument proposed in Chapter 4⁴⁵⁰, as of 2010, the China-wide level of social integration for the total population categorized as ethnic Mongols is 90% (Table 6.2.), which is tremendously higher compared to the level of social integration as of 2010 for ethnic Uyghurs, the titular ethnic population of Xinjiang. According to my argument that the higher the level of social integration for the titular population, the higher the bargaining capacity for titular elites for the ethno-region, the higher the level of implemented autonomy outcome for the ethno-region, the predicted level of representation of ethnic Mongol elites in the NMAR ethno-regional state and its

⁴⁴⁶ Around 90%.

⁴⁴⁷ Various vernaculars of the Kham or Amdo dialects.

⁴⁴⁸ Such as the Gyalrong language and the Horpa language spoken in the Ganzi and Aba Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures of Sichuan Province.

⁴⁴⁹ Mostly Southwestern Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin.

⁴⁵⁰ See the subsection “Social integration among ethnic Uyghurs and in Xinjiang” in Chapter 4.

most powerful positions should be higher than the observed level of representation of ethnic Uyghur elites in the XUAR ethno-regional state. Moreover, the predicted level of implemented autonomy outcome for NMAR for the first six years of the 2010s should also be higher than that for Xinjiang.

Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 4⁴⁵¹, the weighted representation-by-population quotient for ethnic Mongols in NMAR as of 2015 is 2.12 (Table 6.3.), which signifies overrepresentation of ethnic Mongol elites in the NMAR ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions. Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 3⁴⁵², the calculated degree of actually exercised autonomy for NMAR for the first six years of the 2010s is 78.7%. The observed level of representation of titular elites and implemented autonomy outcome for NMAR are both significantly higher than those for XUAR⁴⁵³. In other words, the empirically observed values of both the intervening and response variables are consistent with their predicted levels for the case of Inner Mongolia.

To briefly disaggregate Inner Mongolia (Nei Mongol)'s implemented autonomy outcome (as tabulated in Table 6.8.), for the first six years of the 2010s, what distinguishes NMAR from XUAR in terms of titular political participation is the overrepresentation of ethnic Mongol representatives in the total number of representatives at the NMAR People's Congress, the overrepresentation of ethnic Mongol cadres in the total number of cadres working for the NMAR CCP and state apparatuses, as well as the overrepresentation of ethnic Mongol chairs and vice-chairs in the total number of chairs and vice-chairs at the

⁴⁵¹ See the subsection "Representation of Uyghur elites in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region" in Chapter 4; instrument slightly adjusted by removing the XPCC.

⁴⁵² See the section "Measuring Autonomy: Autonomy as Implemented Outcome" in Chapter 3.

⁴⁵³ 0.64 and 67.9% for the two variables.

NMAR People's Congress. In terms of ethno-regional economic development, for the first six years of the 2010s, NMAR differs from XUAR on the following dimensions: NMAR's GDP per capita was consistently higher than the PRC national average, while the 2010-2015 average annual proportion of NMAR's expenditures covered by its own revenues is approximately 79%, signifying a much higher financial sufficiency of NMAR as compared to XUAR. NMAR's comparative advantages have mostly been concentrated in the sectors of mining⁴⁵⁴, energy, dairy processing⁴⁵⁵, agriculture⁴⁵⁶, and forestry. With regard to titular cultural promotion, Mandarin Chinese has been dominant in both formal and informal conducts of the NMAR ethno-regional government. Formal use of the literary Mongolian language has been present in academic institutions, print media, radio/TV, and internet, while informal, conversational use of Mongolic dialects has been noticeable but not ubiquitous in public sphere. In education, the literary Mongolian language is used as medium of instruction for some students, and NMAR is the only provincial-level ethno-region⁴⁵⁷ in PRC that boasts of a full-package titular-language-instructed education system spanning kindergarten, elementary, secondary, tertiary, and even postgraduate educations. Unlike in XUAR, NMAR has been regulating mostly the forms and interpretations of religious practices while not strictly regulating about who are allowed to practice and who are not.

⁴⁵⁴ Especially in terms of rare earth, non-ferrous metal, coal, and uranium.

⁴⁵⁵ PRC's two leading dairy-processing SOEs, Yili Group and Mengniu Group, are based in NMAR.

⁴⁵⁶ Animal husbandry and crop production.

⁴⁵⁷ Another ethno-region with a full-package titular-language-instructed education system in China is Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin Province.

Table 6.2. Summary of ethnic Mongols' level of social integration in China (2010)

	Location quotient	Score
Urbanization	0.91	0.75
Higher Education	1.5	1
Illiteracy	0.67	1
Cross-ethnic marriage	11.9	1
Residential Concentration	1.2	0.75
Total score		90%

Sources: Calculated from PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013).

Table 6.3. Ethnic Mongol elites' representation in the ethno-regional state of Nei Mongol (2015)

	Number of those occupying the most powerful positions who are of the titular ethnic category (Mongol)	Number of all those occupying the most powerful positions	Representation-by-Population quotient ^a	Weight assigned
CCP NMAR Committee	4	12	1.8	50%
Executive organs	5	10	2.6	35%
Legislative and advisory organs	7	20	1.8	10%
Judiciary	1	2	2.6	5%

^a If the quotient is higher than 0 but no higher than 1, underrepresentation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is 1, proportional representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is higher than 1 but no higher than 5.36, overrepresentation of titular elites is implied (given that ethnic Mongols' percentage in the total population of Nei Mongol was 18.65% as of 2014).

Sources: People's Government of NMAR. <http://www.nmg.gov.cn> (accessed December 31, 2017); *People's Daily*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://ldzl.people.com.cn/dfzlk/front/firstPage.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017); *China Economy Net*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://district.ce.cn/zt/rwk/index.shtml> (accessed December 31, 2017); *Xinhuanet*: Personnel for Party and Governmental Apparatuses. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/rs.htm> (accessed

December 31, 2017); NMAR Office of the Committee on the Compilations of Local Chronicles: Regional Information of Nei Mongol. <http://www.nmqg.gov.cn/index.html> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Table 6.4. Those occupying the most powerful positions at the ethno-regional state of the NMAR (2010-present)

	Position	Person occupying that position	Ethnicity	Tenure
Incumbent party apparatus	Secretary of the CCP Committee	Wang Jun	Han	2010-2016
		Li Jiheng	Han	2016-
	Vice-Secretary of the CCP NMAR Committee	Baatir	Mongol	2008-2016
		Bu Xiaolin	Mongol	2016-
	Secretary of the CCP NMAR Committee of Political and Legal Affairs	Xing Yun	Han	2006-2011
		Liu Hui	Han	2016
		Li Jia	Han	2011-2016, 2016-
	Head of the CCP NMAR Department of Organization	Li Jia	Han	2009-2011
		Li Pengxin	Han	2011-2016
		Zeng Yichun	Han	2016-
Executive organ	Head of the CCP NMAR Department of Propaganda	Ulan	Mongol	2006-2016
		Bai Yugang	Mongol	2016-
	Secretary of the CCP NMAR Committee of Disciplines	Zhang Li	Han	2008-2016
		Liu Qifan	Han	2016-
	Head of the CCP NMAR Department of United Front	Wang Suyi	Mongol	2010-2013
		Bu Xiaolin	Mongol	2014-2016
		Wang Lixia	Mongol	2016-
	Chairperson of the NMAR	Baatir	Mongol	2008-2016
		Bu Xiaolin	Mongol	2016-

	People's Government			
	Head of the NMAR Committee of Development and Reform	Liang Tiecheng Bao Manda	Mongol Mongol	2003-2013 2013-
	Head of the NMAR Department of Public Security	Zhao Liping Ma Ming	Han Han	2005-2012 2012-
Legislative organs	Head of the Standing Committee of the NMAR People's Congress	Hu Chunhua	Han	2010-2013
		Wang Jun	Han	2013-2017
		Li Jiheng	Han	2017-
	Chair of the NMAR People's Political Consultative Conference	Chen Guanglin	Han	2007-2011
		Ren Yaping	Han	2011-2018
		Li Jia	Han	2018-
Judiciary	Head of the NMAR People's Court	Wang Weishan	Mongol	2003-2011
		Hu Yifeng	Mongol	2011-2018
		Yang Zongren	Mongol	2018-
	Head of the NMAR People's Procuratorate	Xing Baoyu	Han	2003-2012
		Ma Yongsheng	Han	2012-2018
		Li Qilin	Han	2018-

Sources: People's Government of NMAR. <http://www.nmg.gov.cn> (accessed December 31, 2017); *People's Daily*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://ldzl.people.com.cn/dfzlk/front/firstPage.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017); *China Economy Net*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://district.ce.cn/zt/rwk/index.shtml> (accessed December 31, 2017); *Xinhuanet*: Personnel for Party and Governmental Apparatuses. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/rs.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017); NMAR Office of the Committee on the Compilations of Local Chronicles: Regional Information of Nei Mongol. <http://www.nmqg.gov.cn/index.html> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Calculated according to the instrument proposed in Chapter 4⁴⁵⁸, as of 2010, the China-wide level of social integration for the total population categorized as ethnic Tibetans is

⁴⁵⁸ See the subsection "Social integration among ethnic Uyghurs and in Xinjiang" in Chapter 4.

40% (Table 6.5.). This score is, slightly higher as it is, largely comparable to the China-wide level of social integration as of 2010 for ethnic Uyghurs⁴⁵⁹. According to my argument, the predicted level of representation of ethnic Tibetan elites in the XAR ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions should be largely comparable to the observed level of representation of ethnic Uyghur elites in the XUAR ethno-regional state. Moreover, the predicted level of implemented autonomy outcome for XAR for the first six years of the 2010s should also be largely comparable to that for Xinjiang.

Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 4⁴⁶⁰, the weighted representation-by-population quotient for ethnic Tibetans in XAR as of 2015 is 0.56 (Table 6.6.), which signifies underrepresentation of titular elites in the XAR ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions. Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 3⁴⁶¹, the calculated degree of actually exercised autonomy for XAR for the first six years of the 2010s is 62.4%. The observed level of representation of titular elites and implemented autonomy outcome for XAR are both even lower than those for XUAR⁴⁶² (0.64 and 67.9% for the two variables). In other words, the empirically observed values on both the intervening and response variables may have turned out to be even lower than their predicted levels for the case of Tibet (Xizang), despite that ethnic Tibetans score slightly higher than ethnic Uyghurs in terms of social integration. Nevertheless, lower-than-predicted titular representation and autonomy outcome for XAR does not contradict but rather substantiates my argument, since a level of social integration at 40%, a level of titular

⁴⁵⁹ 35%.

⁴⁶⁰ See the subsection "Representation of Uyghur elites in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region" in Chapter 4; instrument slightly adjusted by removing the XPCC.

⁴⁶¹ See the section "Measuring Autonomy: Autonomy as Implemented Outcome" in Chapter 3.

⁴⁶² 0.64 and 67.9% for the two variables.

elites' representation at 0.56, and a level of actually exercised autonomy at 62.4% are low whatsoever.

To briefly disaggregate Tibet (Xizang)'s implemented autonomy outcome (as tabulated in Table 6.8.), for the first six years of the 2010s, XAR largely attained comparable level of titular political participation to that in XUAR. In terms of ethno-regional economic development, for the first six years of the 2010s, XAR differs from XUAR on the following dimensions. The ratio of PRC central state's transfer to XAR's own tax and non-tax-based revenue was consistently higher than 1, which signified XAR's high financial reliance upon the central state. XAR's comparative advantages are mostly concentrated in the sectors of tourism and hydroelectric energy rather than in agricultural or mining sectors. XAR largely attained comparable level of titular cultural promotion to that in XUAR except that Mandarin Chinese has been dominant in both formal and informal conducts of the XAR ethno-regional government.

Table 6.5. Summary of ethnic Tibetans' level of social integration in China (2010)

	Location quotient	Score
Urbanization	0.39	0.25
Higher Education	0.58	0.25
Illiteracy	6.1	0.25
Cross-ethnic marriage	2	1
Residential Concentration	1.4	0.25
Total score		40%

Sources: Calculated from PRC National Bureau of Statistics and PRC State Ethnic Affairs Commission, *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2010 Population Census of China* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2013).

Table 6.6. Ethnic Tibetan elites' representation in the ethno-regional state of Xizang
(2015)

	Number of those occupying the most powerful positions who are of the titular ethnic category (Tibetan)	Number of all those occupying the most powerful positions	Representation-by- Population quotient ^a	Weight assigned
CCP XAR Committee	7	15	0.5	50%
Executive organs	8	15	0.6	35%
Legislative and advisory organs	21	32	0.7	10%
Judiciary	1	2	0.6	5%

^a If the quotient is higher than 0 but no higher than 1, underrepresentation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is 1, proportional representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is higher than 1 but no higher than 1.1, overrepresentation of titular elites is implied (given that ethnic Tibetans' percentage in the total population of XAR was 90.5% as of 2014).

Sources: People's Government of XAR. <http://www.xizang.gov.cn> (accessed December 31, 2017); *People's Daily*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://ldzl.people.com.cn/dfzlk/front/firstPage.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017); *China Economy Net*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://district.ce.cn/zt/rwk/index.shtml> (accessed December 31, 2017); *Xinhuanet*: Personnel for Party and Governmental Apparatuses. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/rs.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Table 6.7. Those occupying the most powerful positions at the ethno-regional state of the
XAR (2010-present)

	Position	Person occupying that position	Ethnicity	Tenure
Incumbent party apparatus	Secretary of the CCP Committee	Zhang Qingli	Han	2005-2011
		Chen Quanguo	Han	2011-2016
		Wu Yingjie	Han	2016-

Executive organ	Vice-Secretary of the CCP XAR Committee	Padma Chöling Losang Jamtsan Qizhala	Tibetan Tibetan Tibetan	2010-2013 2013-2017 2017-
	Secretary of the CCP XAR Committee of Political and Legal Affairs	Hao Peng	Han	2010-2012
		Deng Xiaogang	Han	2012-2016
		He Wenhao	Han	2016-
	Head of the CCP XAR Department of Organization	Yin Deming	Han	2005-2012
		Liang Tiangeng	Han	2012-2014
		Zeng Wanming	Han	2014-
	Head of the CCP XAR Department of Propaganda	Cui Yuying	Tibetan	2006-2011
		Dong Yunhu	Han	2011-2015
		Jiang Jie	Han	2016
		Byamba Tashi	Tibetan	2016-
Secretary of the CCP XAR Committee of Disciplines	Jin Shubao	Han	2006-2013	
	Wang Yongjun	Han	2014-	
Executive organ	Head of the CCP XAR Department of United Front	Qizhala	Tibetan	2010-2011
		Kongpo Tashi	Tibetan	2011-2016
		Danke	Tibetan	2016-
	Chairperson of the XAR People's Government	Padma Chöling	Tibetan	2010-2013
		Losang Jamtsan	Tibetan	2013-2017
		Qizhala	Tibetan	2017-
	Head of the XAR Committee of Development and Reform	Ji Guogang	Han	2013-2016
Purbu Tsereng		Tibetan	2018-	
Head of the XAR Department of Public Security		Li Zhao	Han	2008-2013
	Liu Jiang	Han	2013-	
Legislative organs	Head of the Standing Committee of the XAR People's Congress	Qiangba Puntsog	Tibetan	2010-2013
		Padma Chöling	Tibetan	2013-2017
		Losang Jamtsan	Tibetan	2017-

	Chair of the XAR People's Political Consultative Conference	Pagbalha Geleg Namgyal	Tibetan	1993-
Judiciary	Head of the XAR People's Court	Norbu Thondup Suoda	Tibetan Tibetan	2007-2013 2013-
	Head of the XAR People's Procuratorate	Zhang Peizhong	Han	2003-2018

Sources: People's Government of XAR. <http://www.xizang.gov.cn> (accessed December 31, 2017); *People's Daily*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://ldzl.people.com.cn/dfzlk/front/firstPage.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017); *China Economy Net*: Database for Local Leaders. <http://district.ce.cn/zt/rwk/index.shtml> (accessed December 31, 2017); *Xinhuanet*: Personnel for Party and Governmental Apparatuses. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/rs.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Table 6.8. Xinjiang, Nei Mongol (Inner Mongolia), and Xizang (Tibet) in China compared in terms of autonomy as implemented outcome (2010s)

		Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region	Nei Mongol Autonomous Region	Xizang Autonomous Region
Titular political participation	P1 (Has there been incidence of central-state's mandates formally claimed as not suiting the ethno-region's conditions by the ethno-regional state?)	0.5	0.5	0.5
	P2 (Has there been systematic training of ethnic minority cadres or not?)	1	1	1
	P3 (Has there been formal consultation with representatives of various ethnic populations or not?)	1	1	1

Ethno-regional economic development	P4 (Is the Chair of the ethno-region of titular category or not?)	1	1	1
	P5 (Has there been practice of preferential treatment of ethnic minorities for recruitment in ethno- regional state apparatus or in state- owned enterprises?)	0.75	0.75	0.75
	P6 (Have autonomy regulations or separate regulations ever been enacted or not?)	0.5	0.5	0.5
	P7 (Representation of the titular population in the ethno- regional-level People's Congress)	0.5	1	0.5
	P8 (Proportionality of titular cadres to titular population)	0.5	1	0.5
	P9 (Proportion of titular-category chairs and vice- chairs at the ethno- regional-level People's Congress)	0.5	1	0.5
	p_l	6.25	7.75	6.25
	E1 (Is the ethno-region a "donor" region or not?)	0.5	0.5	0.5
	E2	1	1	1

	(Have there been special funds set up or not for the ethno-region?)			
	E3 (Have fiscal transfer payments been increasing or not?)	1	1	1
	E4 (Central-state's-transfer-to-ethno-regional-revenue ratio)	1	1	0.5
	E5 (GDP per capita of the ethno-region)	0.5	1	0.5
	E6 (Unemployment rate of the ethno-region)	1	1	1
	E7 (Ethno-regional comparative advantages)	0.5	0.5	0
	E8 (The proportion of an ethno-region's expenditures covered by the ethno-region's own revenues)	0.25	1	0.25
	e_1	5.75	7	4.75
Cultural promotion among the ethno-region's titular population	C1 (Use of the titular language and scripts in the ethno-regional-level government)	0.75	0.5	0.5
	C2 (Use of the titular language and scripts in public sphere)	1	0.5	1
	C3	0	0	0

	(Has the official historiography of the ethno-region been promoting debates or not?)			
	C4	0.5	1	0.5
	(Has the ethno-regional state been regulating individual citizens' practices of religion or not?)			
	C5	1	1	1
	(Has there been preferential treatment of the titular population in terms of matriculating students or not?)			
	C6	0.5	0.75	0.5
	(Use of the titular language and scripts in education)			
	c_1	3.75	3.75	3.5
Autonomy as implemented outcome	A ₁	67.9%	78.7%	62.4%

Sources: Central People's Government of PRC, "Xizang: The number of ethnic cadres has increased by a factor of 13 since 50 years ago," http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2014-10/10/content_2762294.htm (accessed December 31, 2017); Information on Mongolic studies, "A study of legislating autonomy regulations in autonomous regions: example of Nei Mongol," <http://www.surag.net/?p=9821> (accessed December 31, 2017); Xinhuanet, "A sketch of the building of inter-ethnic unity in Nei Mongol," http://www.xinhuanet.com/2017-08/01/c_1121411747.htm (accessed December 31, 2017); People's Congress of NMAR, <http://www.nmgrd.gov.cn> (accessed December 31, 2017); People's Congress of XAR, <http://www.xizangrd.gov.cn> (accessed December 31, 2017); NMAR Bureau of Statistics, <http://www.nmgjt.gov.cn/acmrdatashownmgpub/index.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017); *2014 China Population & Employment Statistics Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2014); *2015 China Statistical Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2015); *2016 China Statistical Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2016); PRC Ministry of Finances, "Integrated table of budgeted fiscal returns and transfer payments from the central government to provincial-level units," http://yss.mof.gov.cn/2015czys/201503/t20150324_1206398.html (accessed December 31, 2017); *2016 Xizang Statistical Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2016); Ma, Rong, 2011, "Social Development and Bilingual Education in XAR," *China Tibetology* 96; PRC Ministry of Finance, <http://www.mof.gov.cn/index.htm> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Notably, many of the ethnic Mongol or ethnic Tibetan elites who once occupied or still occupy the most powerful positions at the respective ethno-regional states of NMAR and

XAR are originally from localities either where ethnic Mongols or ethnic Tibetans have completely switched linguistically to Sinitic dialects or where ethnic Mongols or ethnic Tibetans live in close proximity with ethnic Han and tend to be bilingual. In NMAR, almost all of the elites listed in Table 6.4. are originally from such localities. Many of them bear Han-style names, which consist of a monosyllabic family name and given name either monosyllabic or bi-syllabic and are a common naming pattern among arguably a majority of ethnic Mongols in China⁴⁶³. For instance, Bu Xiaolin, incumbent chair of NMAR government, who is a granddaughter of NMAR's founding chair, Wulanfu (Yun Ze), and the daughter of NMAR's former chair, Buhe, hails from the western Tümet⁴⁶⁴ tribal federation based in the vicinity of present-day Höhhot. Population affiliated to this tribal federation completely switched to the Jin dialect by the end of the Qing Dynasty and speak that dialect as mother tongue. Baatır⁴⁶⁵, former chair of NMAR and incumbent head of PRC's SEAC, hails from the eastern Tümet⁴⁶⁶ tribal federation based in the northwestern part of present-day Liaoning Province. Population affiliated to this tribal federation are mostly bilingual in Mongolic and Sinitic dialects. Yang Jing, former chair of NMAR and incumbent secretary of PRC's State Council⁴⁶⁷, hails from the eastern part of present-day Ordos Municipality of NMAR, where the local population regardless of ethnicity speak the Jin dialect of Chinese as mother tongue. In XAR, the most recent three chairs of ethno-regional government, Padma Chöling, Losang

⁴⁶³ Han-style naming pattern has been common among ethnic Mongols living in Tongliao Municipality, southern part of Chifeng Municipality, Xing'an League, Höhhot Municipality, eastern part of Ordos Municipality of NMAR, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Hebei provinces.

⁴⁶⁴ Chinese: *Xi Tumote*, Mongolic: Baruun Tümd.

⁴⁶⁵ Chinese: Bate'er.

⁴⁶⁶ Chinese: *Dong Tumote*, Mongolic: Cüün Tümd.

⁴⁶⁷ Sacked in February 2018 for corruption charges.

Jamtsan, and Qizhala, all hail from localities inhabited by Kham Tibetans⁴⁶⁸. Such localities were either once nominally governed by the Xikang Province during the Republic of China period or are governed at present under either the Yunnan Province or the Sichuan Province.

Russia: Inter-ethnic relations, titular elites, and autonomy outcomes in Bashkortostan and Yakutia

Republic of Bashkortostan (RB) is the first ethnic territorially-based autonomous entity established under the auspices of the Bolsheviks within the boundary of present-day Russian Federation (RF). It also has the distinctions of being the ethno-region in RF with the largest population as well as of the relatively low percentage⁴⁶⁹ of its titular ethnic population in the total population of the ethno-region.

Nonetheless, what indeed distinguishes Bashkortostan from other ethno-regions in Russia is the blurred, ambiguous inter-ethnic boundaries between ethnic Bashkirs, the titular ethnic population of RB, and ethnic Tatars, the third largest ethnic population of RB. Such fuzzy Bashkir-Tatar boundaries have been salient particularly in the northwestern counties of RB (Gorenburg 2000, 558-559). Across consecutive population censuses during both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, individuals switched *en masse* either between “Bashkir” and “Tatar” as categories of the ethno-regional state’s classification or

⁴⁶⁸ Those categorized ethnically as Tibetans and traditionally speaking Kham dialects as mother tongue. Kham Tibetans in Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces are usually bilingual in both Kham and Sinitic dialects.

⁴⁶⁹ Ethnic Bashkirs constituted roughly 29.5% of the total population of RB according to the 2010 census. However, of the total population categorized as ethnic Bashkirs in Russia, as of 2010, 74% were residing in RB, with the rest found in Chelyabinsk (10.3%), Orenburg (3%), Tyumen (2.9%), Perm (2.1%), Sverdlovsk (2%), Tatarstan (0.9%), etc.

between “Bashkir” and “Tatar” as categories of self-identification. In other words, for some individuals, they changed only their ethnic categories marked on governmentally-issued papers but retained their previously identified categories in private, while for others, they not only changed their ethnic categories marked on formal documents but also changed their self-identification. Consequently, under the Soviet Union, two periods saw significant changes in terms of the proportions of ethnic Tatars and ethnic Bashkirs in the total population of BASSR: from 1897 through 1939, when the proportion of Bashkirs fell and the proportion of Tatars rose, and from 1979-1989, when the proportion of Bashkirs fell again and the proportion of Tatars rose again (557). Dmitry Gorenburg attributes such demographic fluctuations and massive identify shifts to institutional or policy factors, such as the granting and abolition of estate-based⁴⁷⁰ privileges, affirmation actions favoring individuals of the titular category, language policy, education policy, census policy, etc. (562-567, 570-574). After the dissolution of the USSR, the proportion of ethnic Tatars, again, rose from 24.1% in 2002 to 25.4% in 2010, while the proportion of ethnic Bashkirs, again, fell from 29.8% in 2002 to 29.5% in 2010, though only slightly. Taking into account that the literary and colloquial Tatar⁴⁷¹ and Bashkir languages are mutually completely intelligible and almost identical⁴⁷², that both ethnic

⁴⁷⁰ Prior to the 1865 land reform in Imperial Russia, only those classified under the category “Bashkir” were allowed to own land in what is today’s Bashkortostan. After the 1865 land reform, more people became entitled to land ownership, and many of those who had previously identified themselves as “Mishar” or “Teptiar” started identifying themselves as “Bashkir”. After the Bolsheviks came to power, categories such as “Mishar” and “Teptiar” were gradually removed from governmental censuses, and individuals were required to identify either as “Bashkir” or “Tatar” (Gorenburg 2000, 562-567).

⁴⁷¹ Tatar used to be one of the three official languages of Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (BASSR) until 1978, when the official status of the Tatar language was removed from the 1978 BASSR Constitution (572).

⁴⁷² The Tatar language and the Bashkir language can be viewed as each other’s closest “dialect”. In a sense, it is arguable that the Soviet Union’s ethnic classification resulted in originally more territorially and class-based cleavages being turned into putatively ethnically-based cleavages between “Tatar” and “Bashkir.”

Bashkirs and ethnic Tatars are traditionally mostly Muslims, and that it can be really tricky to tell who is Bashkir or who is Tatar, I treat ethnic Bashkirs and ethnic Tatar combined as the “titular” population of RB. In other words, I view the “Bashkir” and “Tatar” as two categories artificially imposed during the Soviet period upon a shared landscape of cultural continuum.

Similar to the linguistic demographics among ethnic Tatars, there are more ethnic Bashkirs in Russia who know Russian than those who know Bashkir. According to the 2010 All-Russia population census, 97.5% of ethnic Bashkirs Russia-wide claimed to know Russian. By contrast, merely 62% of ethnic Bashkirs Russian-wide claimed to know Bashkir, while, notably, 23.4% of ethnic Bashkirs Russia-wide claimed to know Tatar. In Bashkortostan alone, 96.9% of ethnic Bashkirs claimed to know Russian, while only 67.8% of ethnic Bashkirs claimed to know Bashkir and 27.1% claimed to know Tatar. Of the total population of Bashkortostan, 98.7% claimed to know Russian, while 23.5% claimed to know Bashkir and 26.7% claimed to know Tatar. Despite high level of linguistic Russification among ethnic Bashkirs and ethnic Tatars alike in Bashkortostan, consciousness of being ethnically Bashkir or Tatar remains robust, as the percentage of ethnic Bashkirs and Tatars combined in the total population of RB rose from 53.9% as of 2002 to 55% as of 2010. Moreover, Bashkir-Tatar intermarriages are not uncommon: as of 2010, 4.9% of ethnic Tatars had ethnic Bashkir spouses, whereas 16.4% of ethnic Bashkirs had ethnic Tatar spouses.

Republic of Sakha (RS, or Yakutia) is the ethno-region with the largest area in RF. It also has the distinction of being the largest ethnic territorially-based autonomous entity of the world in terms of area. Similar to ethnic Tatars, there are more ethnic Yakuts in Russia

who know Russian than those who know the Yakut language. According to the 2010 census, 90.6% of ethnic Yakuts Russia-wide claimed to know Russian, while a lower proportion of them, at 85.9%, claimed to know Yakut. In Yakutia alone, 90.4% of ethnic Yakuts claimed to know Russian, while 87% of ethnic Yakuts claimed to know Yakut.

Since the population ratio of those who identified themselves as Bashkir to those who identified themselves as Tatar in RB in the 2010 census is 1.16:1, to calculate a “combined” Russia-wide level of social integration for ethnic Bashkirs and Tatars together, I assign a weight of 1.16 out of 2.16 to ethnic Bashkirs’ Russia-wide score of social integration and a weight of 1 out of 2.16 to ethnic Tatars’ Russia-wide score of social integration. Calculated according to the instrument proposed in Chapter 5⁴⁷³, the Russia-wide level of social integration for the total population categorized as ethnic Bashkirs is 65% as of 2010 (Table 6.9.). Given that the Russia-wide level of social integration for the total population categorized as ethnic Tatars is 85% as of 2010, the weighted Russia-wide level of social integration for ethnic Bashkirs and Tatars combined as of 2010 is largely 74%. This combined score is lower compared to the level of social integration as of 2010 for ethnic Tatars, the titular ethnic population of Tatarstan. According to my argument that the lower the level of social integration for the titular population, the lower the bargaining capacity for titular elites for the ethno-region, the lower the level of implemented autonomy outcome for the ethno-region, then the predicted level of representation of ethnic Bashkir and Tatar elites combined in the RB ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions should be lower than that of ethnic Tatar elites in the case of Tatarstan. Moreover, the predicted level of implemented

⁴⁷³ See the subsection “Social integration among ethnic Tatars and in Tatarstan” in Chapter 5.

autonomy outcome for RB for the first six years of the 2010s should also be lower than that for Tatarstan.

Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 5⁴⁷⁴, the weighted representation-by-population quotient for ethnic Bashkirs and Tatars combined in RB as of 2015 is 1.02 (Table 6.10.), which signifies proportional representation of ethnic Bashkir and Tatar elites combined in the RB ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions. Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 3⁴⁷⁵, the calculated degree of actually exercised autonomy for RB for the first six years of the 2010s is 74.7%. The observed level of representation of titular elites and implemented autonomy outcome for RB are both lower than those for RT⁴⁷⁶. In other words, the empirically observed values on both the intervening and response variables are consistent with their predicted levels for the case of Bashkortostan.

To briefly disaggregate Bashkortostan's implemented autonomy outcome (as tabulated in Table 6.15.), for the first six years of the 2010s, Bashkortostan largely attained comparable level of titular political participation to that in Tatarstan except that no representative office of RB has been opened outside the border of Russia. In terms of ethno-regional economic development, for the first six years of the 2010s, Bashkortostan differs from Tatarstan on the following dimensions. RB's proportion of expenditures covered by its own revenues for 2010-2015 was on average around 78% (Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation 2017), which is even higher than that of

⁴⁷⁴ See the subsection "Representation of Tatar elites in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the Republic of Tatarstan" in Chapter 5.

⁴⁷⁵ See the section "Measuring Autonomy: Autonomy as Implemented Outcome" in Chapter 3.

⁴⁷⁶ 1.36 and 93% for the two variables.

Tatarstan and signifies a high level of financial self-sufficiency. Despite that, RB has been consistently a recipient region rather than a donor region, and its GDP per capita was consistently lower than the RF national average, while its unemployment rate was consistently higher than the national average. Nevertheless, Bashkortostan boasts of one of the most⁴⁷⁷ diverse economy of all ethnic republics in Russia. Aside from taking the lead in Russia in terms of the ability to refine crude oil, Bashkortostan has solid foundations in such sectors as manufacturing (petrochemical, machinery, etc.), mining⁴⁷⁸, and energy, while tourism in the Ural Mountains remains underdeveloped despite huge potential. Notably, Bashkortostan also has been trying to emulate Tatarstan in terms of innovative investment policies. Relatedly, Ufa, the capital of RB, hosted the 7th BRICS summit in 2015. With regard to titular cultural promotion, Russian has been the dominant language used in the RB ethno-regional-level government. Formal use of Bashkir has been present in academic institutions, print media, radio/TV, and internet, while informal, conversational use of Bashkir has been noticeable but not ubiquitous in public sphere. Bashkir has been used as medium of instruction for some subjects only or taught as a subject in pre-tertiary education but is barely used in higher education in RB. The official historiography in RB on the “ethno-genesis” of ethnic Bashkirs treats them as an “ancient, autonomous people” with a stable, primordial “core”⁴⁷⁹, thus more or less dismissing debates about the history of the consciousness of “being Bashkir.”

⁴⁷⁷ Second only to Tatarstan in terms of sectoral diversity, infrastructure, and productive potential.

⁴⁷⁸ RB is the core region of what used to be called “Second Baku” during the Soviet period.

⁴⁷⁹ This core, according to RB’s official historiography, is a tribal federation consisting of seven major tribes (Böryän, Üsərgän, Tüngəwer, Kıpsak, Katay, Tabın, Meng), who have been engaged in perennial struggle to maintain political autonomy from such state powers as Tujue (Turkic) Khaganate, Khazar Khaganate, Volga Bulgaria, the Golden Horde, Imperial Russia, etc. See “Republic of Bashkortostan: History,” [in Russian] <https://www.bashkortostan.ru/republic/polity> (accessed February 28, 2018).

Table 6.9. Summary of ethnic Bashkirs' level of social integration in Russia (2010)

	Location quotient	Score
Urbanization	0.63	0.5
Higher Education	0.66	0.25
Illiteracy	1.5	0.75
Cross-ethnic marriage	2.65	1
Residential Concentration	1.13	0.75
Total score		65%

Sources: Calculated from *All Russia Population Census 2010*. <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Table 6.10. Ethnic Bashkir and Tatar elites' representation in the ethno-regional state of Bashkortostan (2015)

	Number of those occupying the most powerful positions who are of the titular ethnic category (Bashkir and Tatar)	Number of all those occupying the most powerful positions	Representation-by-Population quotient ^a	Weight assigned
Executive organs	25	36	1.3	35%
Legislative organ	7	12	1.1	25%
Bashkortostan-branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RF	3	8	0.7	20%
Judicial organs	1	4	0.5	15%
Bashkortostan-branch of the UR party	12	16	1.4	5%

^a If the quotient is higher than 0 but no higher than 1, under-representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is 1, proportional representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is higher than 1 but no higher than 1.82, over-

representation of titular elites is implied (given that ethnic Bashkirs' and ethnic Tatars' combined percentage in the total population of Bashkortostan was 54.9% as of 2010).

Sources: Head of the Republic of Bashkortostan. <https://glavarb.ru/rus> (accessed December 31, 2017); Government of the RB. <https://www.pravitelstvorb.ru/ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); State Assembly-Kurultay of the RB. <http://gsrb.ru/ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Bashkortostan-Branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. <http://02.mba.pd> (accessed December 31, 2017); Constitutional Court of the RB. <http://www.ks-rb.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Supreme Court of the RB. <http://vs.bkr.sudrf.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Presidium of the RB Regional Political Soviet of United Russia Party. <https://bashkortostan.er.ru/persons/presidium> (accessed December 31, 2017); Constitution of the Republic of Bashkortostan. <http://www.ks-rb.ru/normative/constitution> (in Bashkir, accessed December 31, 2017).

Table 6.11. Those occupying the most powerful positions at the ethno-regional state of the RB (2010-present)

	Position	Person occupying that position	Ethnicity	Tenure
Executive organs	Head (<i>Bashlıgı</i>)	Röstəm Khəmitov	Bashkir/Tatar	2010-
	Prime minister	Röstəm Khəmitov	Bashkir/Tatar	2010-2011, 2012-2015
		Azamat İlimbətov	Bashkir/Tatar	2011-2012
		Röstəm Mərðənov	Bashkir/Tatar	2015-
Legislative organ	Chair of the State Assembly-Kurultay (<i>Dəülət Yıylışı-Koroltay</i>)	Konstantin Tolkachev	Russian	1999-
Coercive organ	Minister of the Internal Affairs (Bashkortostan-branch)	Mikhail Zakomaldin	Russian	2011-2016
		Roman Deev	Russian	2017-
Judiciary	Chair of the Constitutional Court	Lyutsiyə Gümərova Zöfər Yenikeev	Bashkir/Tatar Bashkir/Tatar	2009-2014 2014-
	Chair of the Supreme Court	Mikhail Tarasenko	Russian	2007-
	Prosecutor	Andrei Nazarov	Russian	2013-
Incumbent party apparatus	Secretary of the Presidium of the	Konstantin Tolkachev	Russian	As of 2016

RB Regional
Political Soviet
of the UR party

Sources: Head of the Republic of Bashkortostan. <https://glavarb.ru/rus> (accessed December 31, 2017); Government of the RB. <https://www.pravitelstvorb.ru/ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); State Assembly-Kurultay of the RB. <http://gsrb.ru/ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Bashkortostan-Branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. <http://02.mvd.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Constitutional Court of the RB. <http://www.ks-rb.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Supreme Court of the RB. <http://vs.bkr.sudrf.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Presidium of the RB Regional Political Soviet of United Russia Party. <https://bashkortostan.er.ru/persons/presidium> (accessed December 31, 2017); Constitution of the Republic of Bashkortostan. <http://www.ks-rb.ru/normative/constitution> (in Bashkir, accessed December 31, 2017).

Calculated according to the instrument proposed in Chapter 5⁴⁸⁰, the Russia-wide level of social integration for the total population categorized as ethnic Yakuts as of 2010 is 60% (Table 6.12.), which is significantly lower compared to the level of social integration as of 2010 for ethnic Tatars. According to my argument that the lower the level of social integration for the titular population, the lower titular elites' bargaining capacity for the ethno-region, the lower the level of implemented autonomy outcome for the ethno-region, then the predicted level of representation of ethnic Yakut elites in the RS ethno-regional state and its most powerful positions should be lower than the observed level of representation of ethnic Tatar elites in the case of Tatarstan. Moreover, the predicted level of implemented autonomy outcome for RS for the first six years of the 2010s should also be lower than that for Tatarstan.

Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 5⁴⁸¹, the weighted representation-by-population quotient for ethnic Yakuts in RS as of 2015 is 1.34 (Table 6.13.), which signifies overrepresentation of titular elites in the RS ethno-regional state and its most

⁴⁸⁰ See the subsection "Social integration among ethnic Tatars and in Tatarstan" in Chapter 5.

⁴⁸¹ See the subsection "Representation of Tatar elites in the state organs and their most powerful positions of the Republic of Tatarstan" in Chapter 5.

powerful positions. Based upon the instrument proposed in Chapter 3⁴⁸², the calculated degree of actually exercised autonomy for RS for the first six years of the 2010s is 70%. Intriguingly, although the implemented autonomy outcome for RS is significantly lower than that for RT⁴⁸³, the observed level of representation of titular elites for RS is not significantly lower than that for RT⁴⁸⁴ and even higher than that for RB⁴⁸⁵. In other words, while the empirically observed value on the response variable is consistent with the predicted level for the case of Yakutia, the observed value on the intervening variable may have turned out to be higher than predicted. Despite the relatively low level of social integration for ethnic Yakuts Russia-wide compared to ethnic Tatars and ethnic Bashkirs, the overrepresentation of ethnic Yakut elites in the RS ethno-regional state may require an in-depth case study of autonomy-building in Yakutia. That said, despite titular elites' overrepresentation, the degree of implemented autonomy outcome for RS is lower than that for RB, which substantiates the hypothesis that sufficiently high titular representation is a necessary condition but not a sufficient condition for higher degree of autonomy outcome. Agency of both the central and ethno-regional states in their actual governances matters in this regard.

To briefly disaggregate Yakutia's implemented autonomy outcome (as tabulated in Table 6.15.), for the first six years of the 2010s, Yakutia attained lower level of titular political participation than Tatarstan on the following dimensions. RS was not maintaining any

⁴⁸² See the section "Measuring Autonomy: Autonomy as Implemented Outcome" in Chapter 3.

⁴⁸³ 93%.

⁴⁸⁴ 1.36.

⁴⁸⁵ 1.02.

representative office⁴⁸⁶ outside the borders of Russia, nor did RS enter into any treaty or agreement with other constituent entities of RF. In addition, RS was not sponsoring specific organizations that reaches out to ethnic Yakuts outside the ethno-region⁴⁸⁷. In terms of ethno-regional economic development, for the first six years of the 2010s, Yakutia differs from Tatarstan on the following dimensions. RS has consistently been a recipient region rather than a donor region and heavily reliant upon budget transfers from the federal government. Although its GDP per capita was consistently much higher than the RF national average, its unemployment rate was also consistently higher than the RF national average. Moreover, RB's proportion of expenditures covered by its own revenues was on average approximately 58% for 2010-2015 (Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation 2017), signifying an intermediate level of financial self-sufficiency. RS's comparative advantages are mostly concentrated in the sectors of mining⁴⁸⁸ and energy. With regard to titular cultural promotion, Yakutia is distinguished from Tatarstan on the following dimensions. The literary Yakut language has been used as medium of instruction for some subjects only or taught as a subject in pre-tertiary education but is barely used in higher education in RS. That said, the 1990s marked the beginning of a series of initiatives aimed at reviving and improving knowledge of the Yakut language among ethnic Yakuts, which turned out to be more far-reaching⁴⁸⁹ than in

⁴⁸⁶ RS aims at expanding its trade relations with PRC and is interested in promoting a "Made in Yakutia" brand in China, "Executive head of Yakutia: to promote the brand "Made in Yakutia" in China," [in Chinese] *Sputnik*, <http://sputniknews.cn/opinion/201707181023143516> (accessed December 31, 2017).

⁴⁸⁷ This may need to be contextualized in terms of the relatively small population of ethnic Yakuts outside Yakutia.

⁴⁸⁸ Yakutia is the seat of the Russian diamond industry (Stoner-Weiss 2004, 319).

⁴⁸⁹ Such initiatives include re-introducing the Yakut language to pre-tertiary schools while upgrading and expanding the system of higher education in RS (Chevalier 2017, 614). The most recent federally-initiated education program called "Federal State Educational Standard", while aimed at building a more competence-based curriculum in pre-tertiary schools, actually has the impact of reducing the total

other ethno-regions in the Asian part of Russia (Chevalier 2017, 614). The official historiography in RS on the “ethno-genesis” of ethnic Yakuts treats them as an “ancient, indigenous people” with a stable, distinct “core,” thus more or less dismissing debates about the history of the consciousness of “being Yakut.”

Table 6.12. Summary of ethnic Yakuts’ level of social integration in Russia (2010)

	Location quotient	Score
Urbanization	0.55	0.5
Higher Education	1.1	0.75
Illiteracy	1.7	0.75
Cross-ethnic marriage	0.78	0.75
Residential Concentration	1.5	0.25
Total score		60%

Sources: Calculated from *All Russia Population Census 2010*. <http://www.perepis-2010.ru> (accessed July 31, 2017).

Table 6.13. Ethnic Yakut elites’ representation in the ethno-regional state of Yakutia (2015)

	Number of those occupying the most powerful positions who are of the titular ethnic category (Yakut)	Number of all those occupying the most powerful positions	Representation-by-Population quotient ^a	Weight assigned
Executive organs	6	8	1.5	35%
Legislative organ	14	17	1.6	25%

number of hours that can be assigned to the teaching of non-Russian languages (624) in ethno-regions such as Yakutia.

Yakutia-branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RF	2	4	1	20%
Judicial organs	2	4	1	15%
Yakutia-branch of the UR party	9	14	1.3	5%

^a If the quotient is higher than 0 but no higher than 1, under-representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is 1, proportional representation of titular elites is implied; if the quotient is higher than 1 but no higher than 2, over-representation of titular elites is implied (given that ethnic Yakuts' percentage in the total population of Republic of Sakha/Yakutia was 49.9% as of 2010).

Sources: Head of the Republic of Sakha/Yakutia. <https://glava.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Government of the RS. <https://prav.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); State Assembly-Il Tümen of the RS. <http://iltumen.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Yakutia-Branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. <http://14.mbj.pd> (accessed December 31, 2017); Constitutional Court of the RS. <https://ks.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Supreme Court of the RS. <http://vs.jak.sudrf.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Presidium of the RS Regional Political Soviet of United Russia Party. <https://yakut.er.ru/persons/presidium> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Table 6.14. Those occupying the most powerful positions at the ethno-regional state of the RS (2010-present)

	Position	Person occupying that position	Ethnicity	Tenure
Executive organs	Head (<i>Il Darkhan</i>)	Yegor Borisov	Yakut	2010-
	Chair of the Government	Galina Danchikova Yevgeni Chekin	Russian Russian	2010-2016 2016-
Legislative organ	Chair of the <i>Il Tümen</i>	Vitaly Basygysov Aleksandr Zhirkov	Yakut Yakut	2008-2013 2013-
Coercive organ	Minister of the Internal Affairs (Yakutia-branch)	Vladimir Prokopenko	Russian	2014-
Judiciary	Chair of the Constitutional Court	Aleksandr Kim-Kimen	Yakut	2014-
	Chair of the Supreme Court	Lyudmila Goreva	Yakut	1999-2013

		Aleksandr Sedalishchev	Yakut	2013-
	Prosecutor	Anatoly Podlasenko Nikolay Pilipchuk	Russian Russian	2007-2016 2016-
Incumbent party apparatus	Secretary of the Presidium of the RS Regional Political Soviet of the UR party	Aleksandr Nogovitsyn	Russian	2015-

Sources: Head of the Republic of Sakha/Yakutia. <https://glava.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Government of the RS. <https://prav.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); State Assembly-II Tümen of the RS. <http://iltumen.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Yakutia-Branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. <http://14.mvd.pd> (accessed December 31, 2017); Constitutional Court of the RS. <https://ks.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Supreme Court of the RS. <http://vs.jak.sudrf.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Presidium of the RS Regional Political Soviet of United Russia Party. <https://yakut.er.ru/persons/presidium> (accessed December 31, 2017).

Table 6.15. Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Yakutia in Russia compared in terms of autonomy as implemented outcome (2010s)

		Republic of Tatarstan	Republic of Bashkortostan	Republic of Sakha
Titular political participation	P1 (Has there been separate system of state organs in the ethno-region from the federal one?)	1	1	1
	P2 (Has there been formal separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers or not?)	1	1	1
	P3 (Does the incumbent president/executive head of the ethno-region meet the eligibilities defined in the legally binding documents or not?)	1	1	1
	P4	1	1	1

	(Does the ethno-region have its own normative rules and regulations or not?)			
	P5 (Does the ethno-region have representative office under President of RF or not?)	1	1	1
	P6 (Does the ethno-region have representative office(s) outside the border of RF?)	1	0.5	0.5
	P7 (Does the ethno-region have treaties or agreements with other constituent entities of RF?)	1	1	0.5
	P8 (Does the ethno-region provide support to co-ethnic outside the ethno-region?)	1	1	0.5
	P9 (Representation of the titular population in the legislative organ of the ethno-region)	1	1	1
	P10 (Representation of the titular population in the executive organ of the ethno-region)	1	1	1
	p_2	10	9.5	8.5
Ethno-regional economic development	E1 (Is the ethno-region a “donor” region or not?)	1	0.5	0.5

Cultural promotion among the ethno-region's titular population	E2 (Central-state's- transfer-to-ethno- regional-revenue ratio)	1	1	1
	E3 (GDP per capita of the ethno-region)	1	0.5	1
	E4 (Unemployment rate of the ethno-region)	1	0.5	0.5
	E5 (Ethno-regional comparative advantages)	0.75	0.75	0.5
	E6 (The proportion of an ethno-region's expenditures covered by the ethno-region's own revenues)	1	1	0.5
	e_2	5.75	4.25	4
	C1 (Use of the titular language and scripts in the ethno-regional- level government)	0.5	0.5	0.5
	C2 (Use of the titular language and scripts in public sphere)	0.5	0.5	0.5
	C3 (Has the official historiography of the ethno-region been promoting debates or not?)	1	0	0
	C4 (Has the ethno- regional state been regulating individual citizens' practices of religion or not?)	1	1	1

	C5	1	1	1
	(Have the ethno-regional state's legally defined symbols been broadly used or not?)			
	C6	1	0.5	0.5
	(Use of the titular language and scripts in education)			
	c_2	5	3.5	3.5
Autonomy as implemented outcome	A_2	93%	74.7%	70%

Sources: "GDP per capita by constituent units of the Russian Federation 1998-2015," http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/accounts/# (Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation, accessed July 31, 2017); *Regions of Russia: Socio-economic Indicators 2017* (Moscow: Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation, 2017); *Labor and Employment in Russia 2015* (Moscow: Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation, 2015); "Annual average levels of unemployment of the population of constituent units of the Russian Federation" (Moscow: Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation, April 4, 2017); Head of the Republic of Bashkortostan. <https://glavrb.ru/rus> (accessed December 31, 2017); Government of the RB. <https://www.pravitelstvorb.ru/ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); State Assembly-Kurultay of the RB. <http://gsrb.ru/ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Head of the Republic of Sakha/Yakutia. <https://glava.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); Government of the RS. <https://prav.sakha.gov.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); State Assembly-Il Tümen of the RS. <http://iltumen.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); World Kurultay of Bashkir People, <http://kurultay-ufa.ru/ba> (accessed December 31, 2017); Constitution of the Republic of Bashkortostan, <http://www.ks-rb.ru/normative/constitution>, (in Bashkir, accessed December 31, 2017); Constitution of the Republic of Sakha, <https://glava.sakha.gov.ru/status-i-polnomochija/konstitutsija-osnovnoj-zakon-respubliki-saha-jakutija>, (accessed December 31, 2017); Electronic Database of Legal and Normative-Technical Documents, <http://docs.cntd.ru>, (accessed December 31, 2017); Ministry of Education of RB, <https://education.bashkortostan.ru> (accessed December 31, 2017); RF Ministry of Finance, <https://www.minfin.ru/ru> (accessed December 31, 2017).

SUMMARY

With respect to formal arrangements of center-periphery relations, China follows a constitutionally unitary structure, while Russia follows a constitutionally federated structure. Meanwhile, both China and Russia have been practicing fiscal federalism. For ethno-regions with weak bargaining capacity for titular elites and lower autonomy outcome, fiscal transfers may have the potential of furthering their financial reliance upon the center and hamper the building their fiscal capacity. For ethno-regions with strong

bargaining capacity for titular elites and higher autonomy outcome, fiscal transfers may provide opportunities for the ethno-region to catch up economically if it remains a recipient region or prompt the ethno-region to bargain for additional financial transfers or investments if it is a donor region.

With respect to formal arrangements of party-state relations, China features a Leninist party to which state apparatuses are subordinate, while Russia features an incumbent party that has been in power for almost two decades. For ethno-regions with weak bargaining capacity for titular elites and lower autonomy outcome, a Leninist party may constitute an institutional constraint. For ethno-regions with strong bargaining capacity for titular elites and higher autonomy outcome, an overarching party may provide opportunities for titular elites' coalition-buildings and fast-track promotions.

Based upon the congruence method, my argument has been able to predict the levels of implemented autonomy outcome for four additional ethno-regions in China and Russia on the basis of the level of social integration for the titular populations of these ethno-regions. In China, as compared to Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia features higher level of social integration for the titular population, stronger bargaining capacity for the titular elites, and higher level of implemented autonomy outcome, whereas Tibet features low level of social integration for the titular population, weaker bargaining capacity for the titular elites, and lower level of implemented autonomy outcome. In Russia, as compared to Tatarstan, both Bashkortostan and Yakutia feature lower level of social integration for the titular population, less strong bargaining capacity for the titular elites, and lower level of implemented autonomy outcome.

7. CONCLUSION

“Yao zhengque renshi woguo minzu guanxi de zhuliu, shanyu tuanjie qunzhong, zhengqu renxin, jiaqiang ge minzu jiaowang jiaoliu jiaorong, chuangxin zaiti he fangshi, yong falü lai baozhang minzu tuanjie, jianjue fandui dahanzu zhuyi he xia'ai minzu zhuyi, rang ge minzu zai zhonghua minzu dajiating zhong shouzuxiangqin, shouwangxiangzhu.”

“It is necessary to correctly understand the mainstream pattern of inter-ethnic relations in our country, to become adept at uniting with the masses, winning their hearts, to strengthen interactions, communications, and amalgamations across all ethnic groups, to be creative in terms of finding new instruments and approaches, to ensure inter-ethnic unity through laws, to firmly oppose Han chauvinism and narrow-minded nationalism, in order for all ethnic groups to live in fraternity as well as to assist one another in the big family of the Chinese nation.”

Xi Jinping, September 2014⁴⁹⁰

“Net nikakoi straty v sfere ‘natsional’nyi...vopros’...Nuzhno obespechit’ lyudyam vozmozhnost’ izucheniya rodnogo yazyka, ne tol’ko u tatarskogo, u mariskogo, tam u chechenskogo, i kak u yakutskogo. U nas, slava bogu, ogromnoe raznoobraziye takikh yazykov. Eto nashi gordosti, i eto nashi bogatstva. Kul’turno-yazykovoe raznoobraziye, eto bezuslovno dolzhno byt’ podderzhano.”

“There has been no stratification in the sphere of ‘nationality question’...It behooves us to ensure people the opportunity to study their mother tongues, not only (to study) Tatar, Mari, Chechen, but also Yakut. Thank Goodness! We have got huge diversity out of these languages. (Such diversity) is a source of our pride, our richness. Cultural and linguistic diversity must be supported unconditionally.”

⁴⁹⁰ Reflections on “strengthening inter-ethnic interactions, communications, and amalgamations,” available at http://www.seac.gov.cn/art/2017/8/3/art_7198_286355.html (accessed December 31, 2017); translated into English by the author.

GROUPNESS AS ENDOGENOUS ITERATIVELY TO STRUCTURE AND AGENCY IN ETHNO-REGIONS OF CHINA AND RUSSIA

Both the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Russian Federation (RF) can be characterized as authoritarian regimes, in which either competitive elections or change of incumbent political party have been absent. However, China and Russia are also both constitutionally multi-ethnic states, and their respective paramount leaders are clearly aware of that. Both China and Russia have been actively reifying ethnic categories and officially categorizing their respective populations in ethnic terms in censuses. More significantly, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China pioneered, compared to the rest of the world, in terms of establishing ethnic territorially-based autonomy for a number of their respective ethnic minorities. The present-day Russian Federation inherited the institutional legacies of ethno-federalism from the Soviet Union. In such formally autonomous ethno-regions, the ethnic category for whom autonomy is designated is considered "titular" to the ethno-region, and elites of such titular categories are supposed to have guaranteed representation in the ethno-regional state apparatuses, regardless of the demographic weight of the titular population in the total ethno-regional population. Indeed, the Soviet Union even constitutionally granted right to secede to its "union" republics, which fatefully laid the institutional foundations for USSR's disintegration in the early 1990s. Worried about the scenario of territorial dissolution,

⁴⁹¹ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XuSMHRHbtug> (accessed December 31, 2017); transcribed and translated into English by the author.

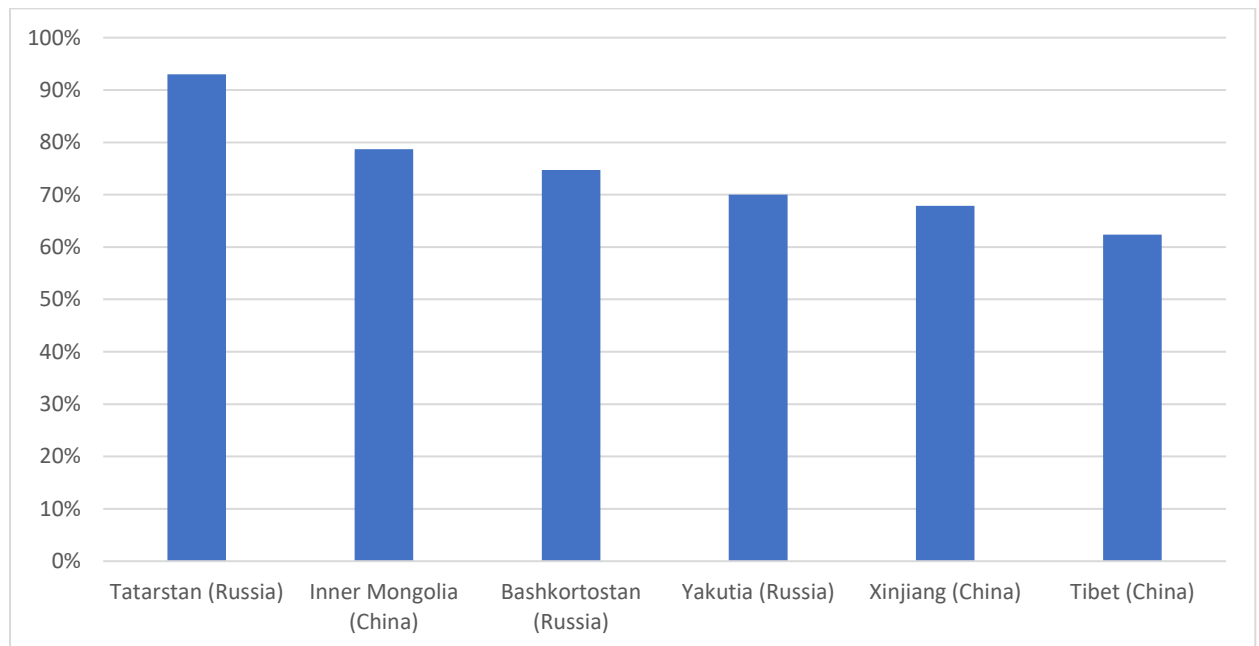
PRC did not follow at its early stage the Soviet model of ethno-federalism and embarked on a unitary structure complemented by tiers of ethnic territorially-based autonomous entities.

Ideally, ethnic territorially-based autonomy is meant for a type of ethnic institution that favors proportional representation over majoritarian rule. It provides ethnic minorities with the formal opportunities of participating in state affairs despite their numerically minoritarian status, especially in their eponymous ethno-regions. These ethnic minorities are recognized usually either due to robust self-consciousness of their distinct identity, or due to state's categorization, or due to a little of both. Such formal opportunities have been formally promulgated in the constitutions of PRC and RF, in the Law of Regional Ethnic Autonomy of PRC, in the constitutions of various ethnic republics of RF, and in the treaties reached between specific ethnic republics and the federal government of RF.

In some of such ethno-regions, the titular ethnic population constitutes the absolute majority of the total population (e.g. Xizang/Tibet Autonomous Region of China, Republic of Chechnya of Russia). In some ethno-regions, the titular population comprises a plurality of the total population (e.g. Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, Republic of Tatarstan of Russia). In other ethno-regions, the titular population comprises an absolute minority of the total population (e.g. Nei Mongol Autonomous Region of China, Republic of Bashkortostan of Russia). Intriguingly, an ethno-region's actual capacity to implement promulgated autonomy and its implemented autonomy outcome are neither directly nor inversely proportional to the demographic weight of the titular population. Certain ethno-regions where the titular population makes up only a minority or a plurality of the total population have been able to achieve a significantly higher

degree of actually exercised autonomy than those ethno-regions where the titular population has consistently been the majority of the total population. In this sense, although autonomy as prescriptive institution applies to all of the ethno-regions, autonomy as implemented outcome varies conspicuously across different ethno-regions, as demonstrated in Figure 7.1⁴⁹². This alludes to a pattern of asymmetric distribution in China and Russia respectively of both the capacity for ethno-regions to be autonomous and their autonomy outcomes.

Figure 7.1. Autonomy outcome of six ethno-regions in China and Russia



⁴⁹² Calculated according to the instrument introduced in the section “Measuring Autonomy: Autonomy as Implemented Outcome” in Chapter 3.

Why has there been such an asymmetric distribution of implemented autonomy outcomes across different ethno-regions in China and Russia? In response to this question, I have developed an analytical framework that may constitute an example of the *groupness as endogenous iteratively to structure and agency* approach. The analytical framework consists of a response variable, a major explanatory variable, a major intervening variable, and two condition variables.

The response variable is an ethno-region's actually exercised autonomy outcome, which I define in terms of how much of what is prescribed in the legally binding covenant establishing the formal autonomy for the ethno-region has been empirically implemented in compliance. The major explanatory variable is inter-ethnic boundary-makings of an ethno-region, which I define as processes in which actors of both the ethno-region's titular category and the central state's majority category relate to existing boundaries by trying either to maintain them or to change them, either to reinforce them or to de-emphasize them in a historical context shaped by previous processes of ethnic group formation. The major intervening variable is titular elites' bargaining capacity, which I define as their ability to employ both material and discursive resources to participate in and to influence decision-makings at both the central and ethno-regional states. The two condition variables are formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations.

Rather than assume primordially-based groupness behind ethnicity, my dissertation treats ethnicity as a cognitive device while delving into three aspects of inter-ethnic boundary-making processes, acculturation, social integration, and psychological identification. These three aspects of inter-ethnic boundary makings mold three aspects of titular elites'

capacity, i.e. elite-level inter-ethnic relations, central state's perception of the titular population, and intra-ethnic cleavage structure, which jointly shape a fourth aspect of titular elites' capacity, their representation in the ethno-regional state's most powerful positions. In such processes, the key to effective building of autonomy capacity in ethno-regions is to strike the balance between the mutually competing but not necessarily irreconcilable tendencies towards inter-ethnic differentiation and inter-ethnic integration. Put otherwise, the size of an ethno-region's titular ethnic population does not automatically translate into autonomy capacity. What can translate into such capacity is titular population's ability to evenhandedly achieve social integration while maintaining distinct identity.

I argue that greater inter-ethnic integration, when combined with robust consciousness of inter-ethnic distinction, is conducive to building the capacity both for elites of the titular ethnic category to bargain with the central state and for intra-ethnic cohesion, which in turn can lead to greater autonomy outcome for the ethno-region. Inversely, a lack of inter-ethnic integration, coupled with sticky inter-ethnic divide, can be detrimental to building the capacity both for elites of the titular ethnic category to bargain with the central state and for intra-ethnic cohesion, which in turn can lead to more subdued autonomy outcome for the ethno-region. Simply put, **the higher/lower the level of social integration for the titular population, the higher/lower titular elites' bargaining capacity for the ethno-region, the higher/lower the level of implemented autonomy outcome for the ethno-region.** I trace the process of how differing patterns of inter-ethnic integration since the early 2000s may have led to differing autonomy outcomes by comparing two ethno-regions with strikingly contrasted autonomy outcomes for the first six years of the

2010s, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) of China and the Republic of Tatarstan (RT) of Russia.

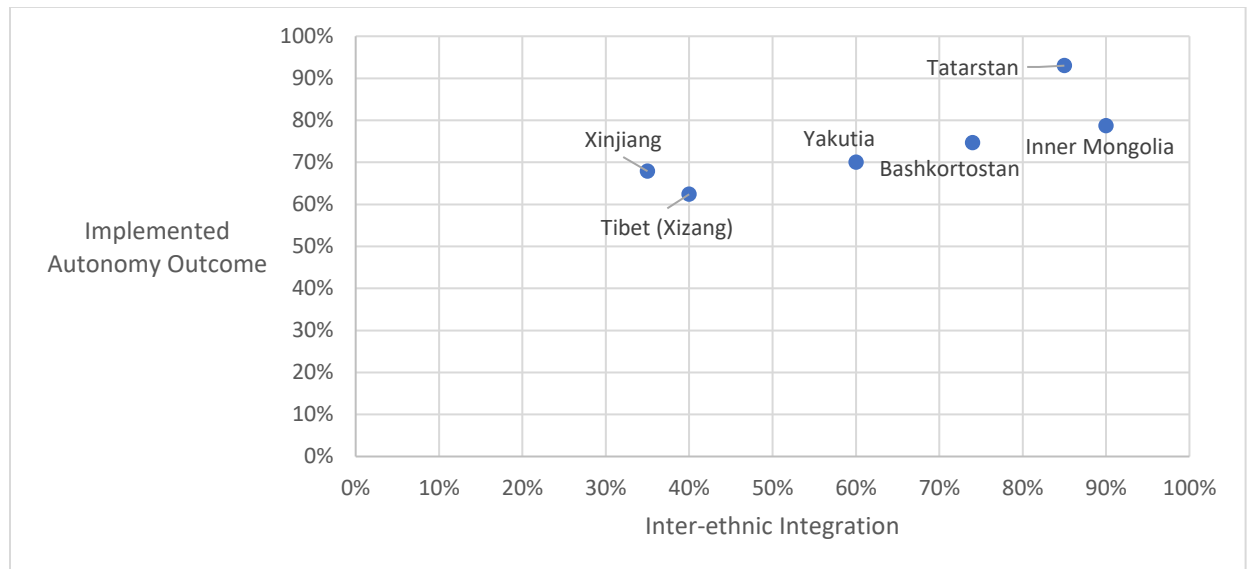
The titular populations for whom the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China is designated are ethnic Uyghurs. Overall, ethnic Uyghurs' low level of linguistic Sinicization tends to hamper ethnic Uyghur elites' capacity to build cross-ethnic political networks and more collusive, less hierarchical types of relationships with ethnic Han elites (of the multi-ethnic state's majority category). Meanwhile, ethnic Uyghurs' lack of social integration tends not only to exacerbate perceptions of ethnic Uyghurs by the PRC central-state but also to translate into internally more differentiated, more polarized intra-ethnic socio-economic and cultural contour. Such a contour can obstruct upward social mobility encouraging ethnic Uyghur populace to identify with or to become themselves elites, which in turn undermines intra-Uyghur cohesion and ethnic Uyghur elites' mobilizing capacity. Ethnic Uyghur elites' less solid relationships with both the central-state and their co-ethnics, coupled with a less-than-positive image of ethnic Uyghurs in the eyes of the central state, have been jointly sufficient for underrepresentation of Uyghur elites in the XUAR state organs and their most powerful positions. Absent proportionate titular control of the ethno-regional state, Xinjiang lacks the necessary condition for effective autonomy implementation.

The titular populations for whom the Republic of Tatarstan of Russia is designated are ethnic Tatars. Overall, ethnic Tatars' high level of linguistic Russification tends to promote Tatar elites' capacity to build cross-ethnic political networks and more collusive, less hierarchical types of relationships with ethnic Russian elites (of the multi-ethnic state's majority category). Meanwhile, ethnic Tatars' more solid social integration tends

not only to cultivate positive perceptions of ethnic Tatars by the RF central state but also to translate into internally less differentiated, less polarized intra-ethnic socio-economic and cultural contour. Such a contour is conducive to upward social mobility encouraging ethnic Tatar populace to identify with or to become themselves elites, which in turn contributes to intra-Tatar cohesion and ethnic Tatar elites' mobilizing capacity. Ethnic Tatar elites' more solid relationships with both the central-state and their co-ethnics, coupled with a positive image of ethnic Tatars in the eyes of the central state, have been jointly sufficient for heightened representation of Tatar elites in the RT state organs and their most powerful positions. Along with more-than-proportionate titular control of the ethno-regional state, Tatarstan is equipped with the necessary condition for effective autonomy implementation.

As demonstrated in the scatterplot in Figure 7.2., for the six ethno-regions in China and Russia, there appears to be a trend of correlation between inter-ethnic integration and implemented autonomy outcome. However, the statistical significance of such correlation awaits testing in future research that will use a much larger sample size and control not only structural and agential variables other than inter-ethnic integration but also institutional constraints and opportunities. While this dissertation traces the process of how differing patterns of inter-ethnic integration can lead to differing autonomy outcomes by conducting a controlled comparison of two "most similar" cases, future regression analyses would possess the potential of yielding more findings about the extent to which my argument is capable of explaining varying autonomy outcomes for as broad a range of ethno-regions as possible.

Figure 7.2. Integration and autonomy outcome: six ethno-regions in China and Russia



Contrary to the conventional wisdom in comparative politics that tends to assume inter-ethnic integration and inter-ethnic differentiation as mutually conflictual processes, the findings of my dissertation inform that, **in authoritarian settings**, on one hand, **an integration-distinction balance is attainable for ethnic minority populations**. On the other hand, **inter-ethnic integration can be conducive to the long-term maintaining of distinct identities by the intermediary of ethnic minority elites, since higher level of inter-ethnic integration can strengthen the capacity of ethnic minority elites to negotiate their distinct political, economic, and cultural interests with the central state**. In this regard, inter-ethnic integration facilitates a two-way process that increases the legibility not only of ethnic minority populations to the central state but also of the “rules of politics” of the central state to ethnic minority elites.

REVISITING THE CAVEATS

Caveat I The two condition variables of my framework, formal arrangements of center-periphery relations and party-state relations are national-level rather than subnational-level institutional arrangements. In other words, they vary across countries but not within a country across different ethno-regions. That said, even the same institutional arrangement can exert different impact upon ethno-regions with differing levels of titular elite capacity within the same country. For instance, in China since the early 2000s, ethnic Mongol elites have tended to be more capable of taking advantage of the apparatuses of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) for coalition-buildings or fast-track promotions than ethnic Uyghur elites. In Russia, Tatarstan has been more capable than any other ethno-region of maintaining financial self-sufficiency while procuring, under the framework of fiscal federalism, additional funding from the central-state to host mega-events.

Notably, such institutional constraints and opportunities may themselves be sculpted by elite-level compromises at certain historical junctures, for instance, in the context of the RF federal and Tatarstani states interactively molding ethno-federal institutions in the early 1990s. Such endogeneity between certain institutions and elite agency has been left out of the purview of this dissertation. Despite that, to study such endogeneity, future research could take the form of a comparative historical study, focusing upon the very processes of interactive decision-makings that led to the differing institutional arrangements of center-periphery relations between China and Russia. Such research could also highlight the power relations as well as patterns of coalition-building between

central-state elites and ethno-regionally-based elites as well as between those elites who favor unitary arrangement and those who favor ethno-federalism.

Caveat II The major explanatory variable, inter-ethnic boundary-makings, captures population-level, ethno-regional-level structural characteristics rather than individual-level ones, and there can be multiple concurrent types of boundary-making strategies deployed within a titular ethnic population. Over time, as individuals shift their boundary-making strategies and as certain strategies replace other ones as more predominant, it is possible for there to be improved integration or improved elite-level relationship for previously less integrated groups. In this sense, for the population of the titular ethnic category of an ethno-region, level of integration can change. Titular elites' bargaining capacity and the ethno-region's autonomy outcome can also grow. Although the dissertation does not directly address such changes, future research could combine diachronic within-case variations and synchronic cross-case variations. The diachronic aspect of such research would examine whether growing or dwindling levels of integration over time have contributed to growing or dwindling levels of titular elites' bargaining capacity as well as growing or dwindling levels of an ethno-region's autonomy outcomes over time. The synchronic cross-case aspect of such research would investigate whether the pattern of changing levels of integration leading to changing levels of autonomy outcome applies to more than one ethno-region. For instance, considering that the levels of linguistic acculturation and social integration incrementally increase among ethnic Uyghurs in China, such research would shed light upon whether there is the prospect of increasing titular bargaining capacity and improved autonomy outcome for Xinjiang.

Another direction for future research is to explore the impact of autonomy outcome upon inter-ethnic relations. In such research, the intervening variable could pertain to how titular elites tend to shape the discourse about where the boundary between the ethno-region's titular ethnic minority and the central-state's ethnic majority should be drawn. Titular elites constitute the key actors in terms of shaping inter-ethnic relations, since they play the crucial role of producing and reproducing knowledge about the location and meaning of the titular ethnic minority's boundaries with other ethnic groups. Two hypotheses could be tested, the first of which posits that greater autonomy outcome can lead to more blurred inter-ethnic boundaries and more cooperative inter-ethnic relations, while the second one posits that more subdued autonomy outcome can lead to more rigid inter-ethnic boundaries and more divisive inter-ethnic relations. If degrees of autonomy outcome and patterns of inter-ethnic relations tend to be mutually reinforcing, then for an ethno-region to break out of such self-reinforcing cycles of "alienation," a shift of boundary-making strategies towards more inclusive ones among titular elites can be pivotal.

Caveat III Prior patterns of titular elites of certain ethno-regions wielding more bargaining capacity vis-à-vis the central state than titular elites of other ethno-regions can somehow exercise constraints upon the emergence of previously more disadvantaged elites, even if the previously less integrated population becomes more integrated into the mainstream society. In this regard, future research on uneven distribution of bargaining capacity across titular elites of different ethno-regions could also combine diachronic within-case variations and synchronic cross-case variations. Such research could examine whether the bargaining capacity of the titular elites of an ethno-region with previously

subdued autonomy outcome stalls despite growing level of integration for the titular ethnic population. This is particularly salient in China, where elite representation can be most meaningful if realized through the CCP. Further growing level of integration for the titular ethnic population of an ethno-region with already heightened bargaining capacity for its titular elites might also perpetuate their overrepresentation in party-state apparatuses and more collusive relationships with certain central-state elites. In other words, the building of more collusive relationships between emerging elites and central-state elites may be more contingent upon the agency of specific elites.

SOME THOUGHTS ON POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Although China and Russia can both be classified as authoritarian regimes, the ways they are authoritarian differ significantly. In Russia, ethno-federalism has been practiced, entailing varying degrees of formal power-sharing between the federal government and ethnic republics. In addition, although the UR party has been in power for an extended period of time, state organs are not formally subordinate to the control by UR. Overall, Russia features more negotiation-based relationships between central-state elites and ethno-regional elites, and ethnic republics are entitled to designate their own state symbols such as flags, coats of arms, anthems, etc. In China, by contrast, ethno-regions are organized unitarily with the central-state, and state organs are formally subordinate to the incumbent Chinese Communist Party. Overall, China features more hierarchically-based relationships between central-state elites and ethno-regional elites.

In other words, the structures of institutional opportunities and constraints does differ across China and Russia, even if they alone cannot adequately account for within-country variations of autonomy as implemented outcome across different ethno-regions. Such differences would not have been in place, absent the linkages and clusterings of nationalist mobilizations (Beissinger 2002) and the uncanny collapse of the USSR. The collapse of the Soviet Union took the form of union republics declaring independence, and the central-state of the post-Soviet Russian Federation remained weak throughout the 1990s due to the turmoils of simultaneously building new political and economic institutions such as democracy, private property, market economy, and ethno-federalism. Of these new institutions, only ethno-federalism was a legacy, though re-adapted, from the Soviet-period. The brief weakening of the central-state in post-Soviet Russia provided opportunities for ethnic republics with strong titular elite capacity to actively reshape their power relations vis-à-vis Moscow and to redefine ethno-federalism in Russia in such a way that a negotiation-based flavor has been added to the traditionally more hierarchically-based relationships between central-state and ethno-regional elites.

Minority group rights (Kymlicka 1996, 22-30) is a relevant discourse. However, this discourse originates completely from Western-based liberalism that requires the state to honor individual rights, and its applicability to the political contexts of present-day China and Russia is moot. Most strikingly, the discourse does not address the question as regards how to cultivate, in the contexts of China and Russia, the capacity for actors of ethnic minority categories to effectively interact with the state authorities in order to commit them to enforcing such rights. Moreover, the discourse of minority group rights tends to be based upon the assumption that boundaries between minorities or majorities

have become fixed, which are in reality more fluid and malleable than one would think. Even if one assumes fixed majority-minority boundaries, to use rights discourse as a tool to negotiate with the central-state requires the titular populations, titular elites in particular, to be fluent in the multi-ethnic state's *lingua franca*, more integrated with the multi-ethnic state's mainstream society, and increasingly knowledgeable about not only the rights discourse but also the fundamental institutional contexts of the multi-ethnic states, the demographic and cultural landscapes of the multi-ethnic states, etc. It can be meaningless to propagate the idea of "group rights" without reflecting upon how such rights can be enforced in certain contexts as well as how capability to practice such rights can be fostered.

Building upon the findings and explanations in this dissertation, I lay out some tentative suggestions for each of the major types of actors involved in the autonomy-building processes of ethno-regions. Idealistic as they may sound, these suggestions can be worth reflecting upon with regard to boosting, in the long run, titular elites' capacity to exercise formally prescribed autonomy for an ethno-region, to promoting inter-ethnic cooperations, and to reconciling distinct, entrenched ethnic identities with the multi-ethnic state's territorial integrity.

For the central-state, while continuing to recognize and respect ethnically-based identities, it could also devise creative formal or informal measures in terms of encouraging and facilitating cross-ethnic friendships, raising awareness of one another's ethnically-based identities and ethnically-specific knowledge, signaling explicitly that cross-ethnic marriages are endorsed and supported by the state, and reminding citizens of non-ethnically-based principles that can bond them together. The central-state could be

more interested in developing comprehensive discourses, based upon the current ones, that would promote historiography that delineates cross-ethnic cultural exchanges, complex multi-origin processes of “ethno-genesis” in the historical trajectories of each of the ethnic categories, and the overlappings of such trajectories. Concomitantly with regard to historiography, the central-state could be more tolerant or even encouraging of further academically-based research and debates on the history of shared consciousness of various ethnic populations. As regards human capital building, the central-state could devise, based upon the current ones, creative programs that train systematically highly competent professionals of those ethnic minority categories underrepresented in such professions, STEM and social sciences in particular. This could more effectively be done less by means of affirmative action programs than by means of developing a full-package education system in which teachers and researchers of ethnic minority categories would be represented in all levels and disciplines, not only in ethno-regions but also in localities demographically dominated by the ethnic majority. Meanwhile, the central-state could encourage and facilitate ethnic minority professionals to settle down in economically more developed areas of the multi-ethnic state. Last but not least, the central state would be interested in promoting more dialogue-based portrayal of certain ethno-regions in its sponsored broadcast and print media both by admitting existing issues and by calling on reflections, discussions, or suggestions. Country-wide informally discriminatory practices such as limitations on hotel stays, extra security inspections, etc. should be dropped.

For the ethno-regional state(s), in the event of using coercive measures, it (they) could employ them in a more cautious and more focused fashion. Coercive measures would be more effective if limited to cracking down upon violent incidents and if not applied to

non-violent, non-regime-challenging dissents. The ethno-regional state could work on devising creative programs to attract highly competent professionals of all ethnic categories, the titular category in particular, back to the ethno-region, to place them in as many state-sponsored positions as possible, or to help them start up business. The ethno-regional state would also be interested in training a large number of teachers able to teach, at all levels of the education system, bilingually in both the multi-ethnic state's *lingua franca* and the language associated with the titular ethnic category of the ethno-region. "Bilingual education" would be more effective and empowering, should it not entail merely the "teaching of two languages in one educational institution", should it be reliant upon a competent team of bilingual teachers drawn from both the ethno-region's titular category and the multi-ethnic state's majority category, and should it ensure students their option to learn the language/script associated with their ethnic categories. On the other hand, voluntary self-assimilation should be respected. The ethno-regional state should take measures to protect individuals who do not fit into the "authenticity" images of their registered ethnic category against being ostracized by their "co-ethnics." It also could tolerate or even encourage academically-based research and debates about the history of shared consciousness of different ethnic populations inhabiting that ethno-region. Last but not least, if the titular elites have been underrepresented in the ethno-regional state apparatuses, then the ethno-regional state could work towards gradually augmenting their representation. Ethno-region-wide informally discriminatory practices such as limitations on hotel stays, extra security inspections, etc. should also be dropped. *For the elites* of both ethnic majority and ethnic minority categories, they could become more active in terms of reaching out to the populace regardless of ethnicity and

addressing their concerns. They would be interested in reaching out to their colleagues of ethnic categories other than their own, becoming more aware of one another's ethnically-specific knowledge, and building their networks beyond their own ethnic category. Such elites could be more tolerant and supportive of cross-ethnic marriages. They could promote discourses that emphasize commonality, historiography of amicable, cooperative inter-ethnic relations over differences and historiography of hostile, conflict-laden relations. They could also engage with the assumption that groupness is not product of genetically-based, essential, unchanging differences but rather product of historically, politically, socially, and culturally contingent, divergent, and mutually interactive processes. Ethnic minority elites would be interested in presenting their ethnically-specific knowledge in the multi-ethnic state's *lingua franca* to a much broader audience, which state authority would want to endorse and support. If elites are able to see ethnicity beyond groupness, it would be more likely for them to adopt more inclusive boundary-making strategies. Nevertheless, emphasis upon non-ethnically-based cleavages should not be conflated with the diminishing of ethnic consciousness. Quite to the contrary, they are conducive to "recruiting" more members into an ethnic "club", to enlisting support from individuals who have been fluctuating/swinging across inter-ethnic boundaries, to building support base among the multi-ethnic state's majority ethnic population for both the titular population and the ethno-region, as well as to establishing the pride among the titular population that "our culture is attractive." Particularly with regard to titular elites, they could improve their skills at framing their concerns or suggestions in more nuanced ways when it comes to policy formulations or implementations. Titular elites should be careful not to be portrayed as "regime-challenging" when being critical. They could more

effectively channel criticism if through the incumbent party or elite networks rather than through the public sphere and if as specific as possible when describing their concerns. Moreover, elites regardless of ethnicity would want to refrain from framing hastily their concerns in terms of “ethnic issue.” Instead, socio-economic concerns should be delinked from ethnicity to the extent possible.

For the populace of both ethnic majority and ethnic minority categories, they could become more active in terms of building friendship with their co-citizens of other ethnic categories and more aware of one another’s ethnically-specific knowledge. They would be interested in learning one another’s languages and using them informally in daily life if they happen to live in ethnically mixed, linguistically diverse neighborhoods. The populace could try to find more cross-ethnic ties of commonality than areas of differences while adjusting their value systems in such a way as to be more welcoming of cross-ethnic marriages. For those individuals whose first language is not the multi-ethnic state’s *lingua franca*, it could only help them more if they were able to improve skills in that *lingua franca* and became more knowledgeable about relevant policies, laws, regulations, etc. formulated by the central and ethno-regional states. The populace of ethnic minority categories also could be more encouraging of their children to pursue higher education and to travel outside their own native localities.

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Curriculum Vitae

Sansar Tsakhirmaa was born in 1987 in Beijing, China.

Sansar did his undergraduate work at Peking University where he majored in International Studies and French Language & Literature. Between 2010 and 2012, he pursued his master's degree in International Studies at University of Denver.

In 2012, Sansar began his PhD in Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University where he majored in Comparative Politics and minored in International Relations. He was a teaching assistant for the following classes: Introduction to American Politics (Fall 2013), Global Governance (Fall 2014), Democracy and Development (Fall 2016), Contemporary International Politics (Fall 2017), Global Security Politics (Spring 2018).

Between 2015 and 2017, Sansar conducted fieldwork for his dissertation research in the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. His journal article "Comparative Institutionalised Bilingualism in Kazan, Russia and Ürümqi, China" will appear in *Europe-Asia Studies* in late 2018.

Sansar is a polyglot. In addition to English, he knows and uses the following languages: Mandarin Chinese, Russian, Tatar (Kazan), Uyghur, French, Mongolian (China), Mongolian (Mongolia), Bashkir, Turkish, Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Tatar (Crimean), Italian.